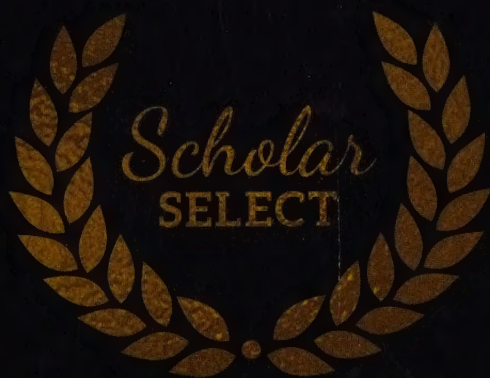


# History Of Ohio

The Rise And Progress Of An American  
State, Volume 1



EMILIUS OVIATT RANDALL, DANIEL JOSEPH  
RYAN



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## History Of Ohio

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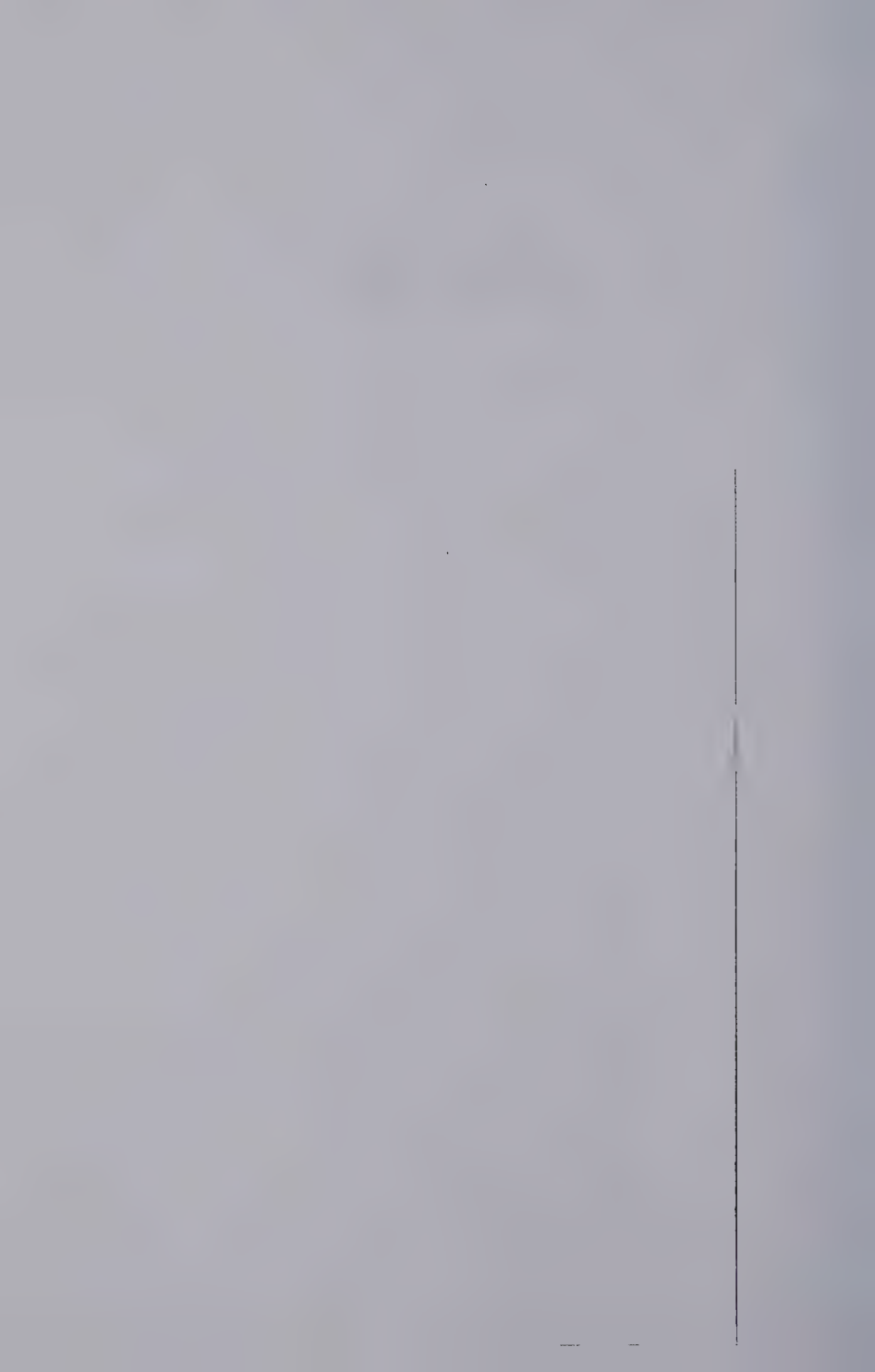




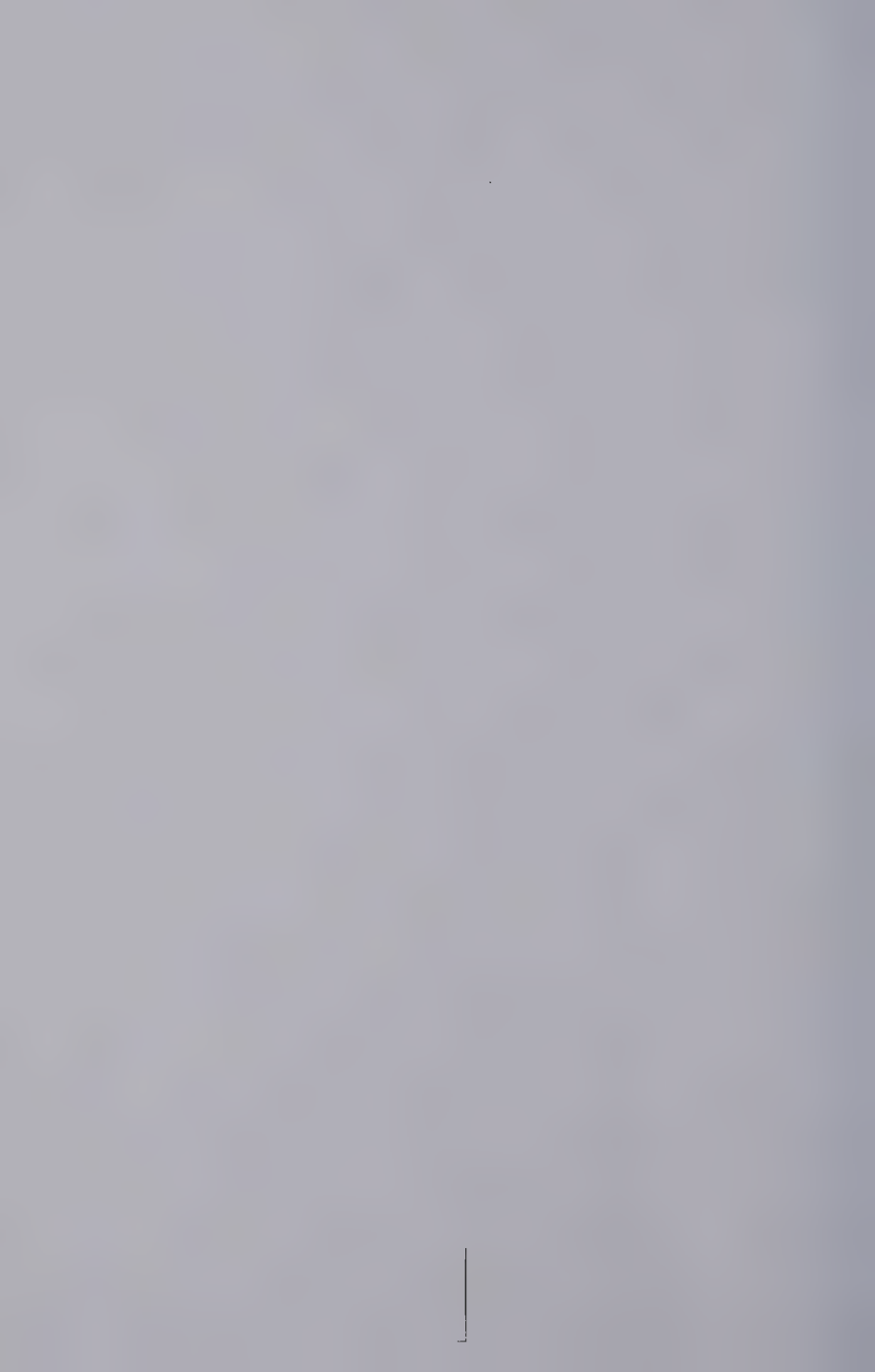




## HISTORY OF OHIO









### ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE

The greatest discoverer and explorer of the French in America. It was he who first navigated the waters of the Ohio, and, so far as reliable records testify, was the first white man to discover that river, which he did in his voyage of 1669-70.

# History of Ohio

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The Rise and Progress of an  
American State

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By

EMILIUS O. RANDALL and DANIEL J. RYAN

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VOLUME ONE

By

EMILIUS O. RANDALL

THE CENTURY HISTORY COMPANY  
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1912

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## FOREWORD



IN THE preparation of the two volumes covering the pre-state period of Ohio history, the writer has not only carefully consulted all publications of second-hand authority, extant and available, but has diligently examined the reprints of original documents, which might contribute to the purpose in hand, such as the colonial archives and state papers, official records, diaries, letters and personal memoirs. The writer, moreover, has visited almost every site in the state, touched upon in his narrative, that the local situation and tradition, if any exist, might be obtained to stimulate the writer's interest, to verify or correct, if possible, the descriptions and statements by others and thus by the "local coloring" perhaps make more vivid and accurate the account herewith set forth. These volumes, be it understood, were written not for the technical scholar, seeking the bare data in elaborate and exhausting detail; such investigators may go direct to the original sources as the writer has done. These volumes were written, rather, with the purpose of concisely portraying the more important events in early Ohio history and presenting them in their relative and chronological order, in simple narrative form for the general reader. A history for the public should be first reliable, second readable. With that aim the writer confesses to have striven. To what extent he has succeeded, the reader must decide; "what's writ is writ—would it were worthier."

E. O. R.



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CHAPTER I.

PREHISTORIC; HILLTOP FORTS



THE initial appearance of man upon the stage of life in North America was an event the date of which is in great dispute, for if the original American left any record of his advent it has not withstood "the tooth of time and the razure of oblivion."

Some two score years or more ago, the owner of a gold drift, near Angelos, California, claimed to have found in the shaft of a mine, a human skull, embedded in the bowels of the earth, one hundred and fifty feet deep, beneath beds of lava, volcanic tufa and strata of "auriferous gravel," in a deposit which the geologists state belongs to the Tertiary Age.

Admitting that this relic of ancient humanity was really found in the lodgment as claimed and that it came there through no modern artifice or accidental placement, then, says a distinguished scientist, "it far antedates anything human which has been discovered in Europe," and therefore plausibly accords America the precedence in the origin of the race.

This "primal pioneer of pliocene formation" was the famous Calavaras skull, which "broke up" Bret Harte's "Society upon the Stanislow," and the genuineness of which has been the subject of much controversy among savants.

Ohio, too, has its primordial man. There was a time, scientists assert, when the northern and western portion of the state was submerged beneath great fields of ice that slid slowly down from the north. Later nature shook off the chill; her heart grew warm; there was a great melt,

"The loosened ice-ridge breaks away—  
The smitten waters flash;"

and the hills peeped forth and the valleys grew green and the streams sparkled on the mountain side, rippled in the valleys and ran their way through the glad earth.

In the beds of the drift gravel, which the frozen flood caught in its journey and brought from the far north and left in its wide wake, have been found alleged evidences of the glacial, paleolithic man—the man of the early stone age, the man who was made “when nature was but an apprentice” and whose fate was to “reside in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.”

Science sometimes, apparently to the unacademic mind, hangs its conclusions upon slender threads. The proof of the arrival and sojourn of the original ice-man in Ohio rests chiefly upon the discovery, within recent years, of three paleoliths, found respectively in Hamilton, Clermont and Tuscarawas counties. These paleoliths are flint implements, less than the size of a man's hand and undoubtedly chipped into shape by the crudest artisan. In each case the paleolith was found many feet beneath the surface in a gravel deposit, “brought down by the turbulent floods from the north.” These paleoliths, argue the scientists, must have been in use, in the localities where found, by primitive man in the glacial period, prior to the final disappearance of the ice sheet. Those who care to enter upon details of these discoveries and the arguments resulting therefrom, are referred to the numerous scientific works among which may be suggested, “The Ice Age in North America,” by Dr. G. Frederick Wright; “Primitive Man in Ohio,” by Warren K. Moorehead, and the “Archæological History of Ohio,” by Gerard Fowke.

None of these paleoliths, all of which are undoubtedly of a type indicative of the most primitive man, bears any resemblance to the artifacts—of the Mound Builder or the Indian—found by the thousands in the mounds and graves and on the surface in all parts of the state. But the credibility of the evidence, offered by these flint implements, is the great question. From a legal point of view, this paleolithic testimony, as to the local presence of the glacial man, is purely circumstantial, and in the absence of further corroborative witnesses, we are not certain that the Ohio “ice-man” could not establish an alibi.

But leaving the fate of the “Buckeye” glacial man to the forum of geological and ethnological science, we pass to the consideration of another early Ohioan, hardly less mysterious, but more evidential as to his existence and character. That man for want of a better descriptive name we designate as the Mound Builder.

To enter upon the domain of the Mound Builder, wonderful and enigmatical in his works, is like seeking to grope one’s way through the fabled labyrinths of Egypt and Crete, for one is soon lost in a maze of alluring speculation, from which the guiding hand of knowledge is withheld. The Mound Builder is the riddle of the American race and the countless manifestations of his handiwork defy explanation while they ever excite our admiration and amazement. The earliest European explorers in their voyages through the unbroken wilds of North America, found these earthen structures of a prehistoric people intact and perfect but solitary and tenantless, with no living being

to tell aught of their origin, age or purpose. Who were these people that came, wrought and disappeared into the impenetrable mists of the past?

“Let the mighty mounds  
That overlook the rivers, or that rise  
In the dim forest crowded with old oaks,  
Answer. A race, that long has passed away,  
Built them;—a disciplined and populous race  
Heaped, with long toil, the earth, while yet the Greek  
Was hewing the Pentelicus to forms  
Of symmetry, and rearing on its rock  
The glittering Parthenon.”

Just what relation, ethnological and archæological, the builders of the mounds bore to the Mississippi Valley and its branch basins will probably never be fully known. So far as the vestiges, discovered by the early European intruder, can testify, the portion of the United States embraced within the central valley named and its tributaries, was the chief domain and center of those peculiar people. Whether this territory was the land of his origin; a great way-station in the pilgrimage of his race through its earthly existence; or was the terminus of prolonged peregrinations, has not been determined.

Concerning the inscrutable Mound Builder and his monuments, the accumulated literature, by official authorities, voluntary scientists, amateur investigators, poetic romancers and irresponsible, irrepressible and illiterate dreamers, is appalling in quantity, discursive and contradictory in statement and theory, conflicting in conclusions and often amusing and absurd. Being without the pale of definite knowledge the Mound



Builder and his achievements afford untrammelled scope for the imagination. He literally left "foot-prints on the sands of time," but their trail leads only to oblivion. He bequeathed to the succeeding ages no written records, and his temples tell no tales as to their time or purpose. His only answer to every conceivable guess concerning his origin, age and destiny is his unbroken silence. The Mound Builder is the race with the Iron Mask; nor is there likelihood that his racial features will ever be revealed.

But whoever he was, the Mound Builder displayed his activities in a spacious arena, and if the whole North American continent was not his, a large part of it was, for his habitations extended from the Allegheny River to the Rocky Mountain range, and in some instances on to the Pacific slope. He is almost unknown in New England. He is found in lower Canada, but he evidently avoided the colder climates and in the south he was much in evidence, for his works dot the shores of the Mexican gulf, from Texas to Florida, and are found in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky. The Northwest Territory, however, produces evidences of his densest population; at least there his achievements were the most numerous and important. In Wisconsin his character apparently took on a "religious turn," for along its river courses, and about the shores of its lakes, he adorned the sides and summits of the hills with innumerable effigies of animals, birds, reptiles and even human beings—presumptively tributes to his superstitious belief, symbols of his crude worship or possibly emblematic totems of his various tribes. Michigan did not greatly

merit his attention, but his mounds are frequently found in Indiana and are numerous in Illinois.

Ohio, however, was a region for which he displayed most remarkable partiality. The banks of "La Belle Riviere," as the early French called the majestic Ohio, and the picturesque and fertile valleys of the Miamis, the Scioto, the Muskingum, the Cuyahoga, and lesser tributary streams were the scenes of his most numerous, most extensive and most "continuous performances." It has been asserted that the localities in Ohio, which testify to the Mound Builders' presence far outnumber the total localities of his evidential habitation in any other state, indeed almost equal those in all the rest of the country. Ohio was the great "State" in prehistoric times, for over twelve thousand places in the present state-limits have been found and noted, where the Mound Builder left his testimonial. Those having the form of enclosures, located on the hill tops and in the plain or river bottoms, the walled-in areas, each embracing, respectively, from one to three hundred acres in area, exceed fifteen hundred in number, while thousands of single mounds of varying circumference and height were scattered over the central and southwestern part of the state. One thing is clearly demonstrated by this tremendous "showing," viz., that these people either continued in more or less sparse numbers through a long space of time or they prevailed in vast numbers during a more or less brief, contemporaneous period, for it has been estimated that the "earthly productions" of their labor, yet standing in Ohio, if placed side by side in a continuous line, would exceed over three hundred miles,

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL MAP OF OHIO

Showing the location of the more important mounds and enclosures of the Prehistoric People in Ohio. This map was made by Cyrus Thomas from the reports of the Smithsonian Institution and published in 1891.

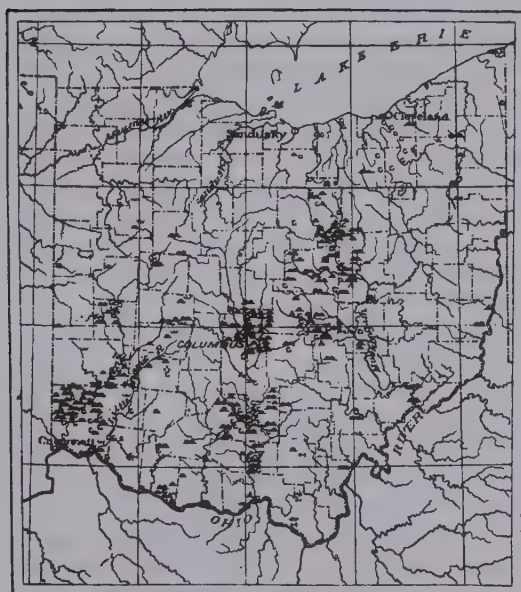


## ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF OHIO

and encloses a copy of Cyrus Thomas' report of the  
Smithsonian Institution and published in 1891.  
Showing the location of the more important mounds  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF OHIO

and called the map the "Great Indian Villages of the Northwest," the Oregonian, in 1881, published the seeds of his discovery in the Athabasca. He stated that the localities of the "Buffalo's" presence in his collection were almost equal to those of Ohio was the "State" for over a hundred years. The limits have been

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or farther than from Lake Erie to the Ohio, and that they contain at least thirty million cubic yards of earth or stone, and that it would require one thousand laborers, each one working three hundred days in the year, a century to complete these earthen edifices; or it would take three hundred thousand laborers one year to accomplish the same result. Supposing, in the latter case, the laborers were exclusively men and allowing the conventional average family to each man, there would have been—in Ohio—a population far exceeding a million people. But whether these different structures were built synchronously or near the same period, we have no means of knowing. The structures were almost without exception completed before being abandoned, for these industrious and energetic people left no unfinished work, from which it might be inferred that they did not depart under compulsion or in haste. Their works after their abandonment were not disturbed, except that the single mounds were occasionally utilized by the Indians for intrusive burials. The conqueror of the Mound Builder, if he had one, had respect for the permanent spoils of war and left the monuments of the defeated foe inviolate and intact; pity it is the same cannot be said for his pale faced successors.

It is not the purpose of this study to attempt any exhaustive or minute account or detailed enumeration of the vestiges left by this people. Rather it is the intention to mention, with brief portrayal, the master pieces of the different classes of their exploits. We will classify these works and note their features in the following order: (1) Walled enclosures, (2) Single

mounds, (3) Village sites and burial grounds, and (4) Theories respecting the identity of the Mound Builders.

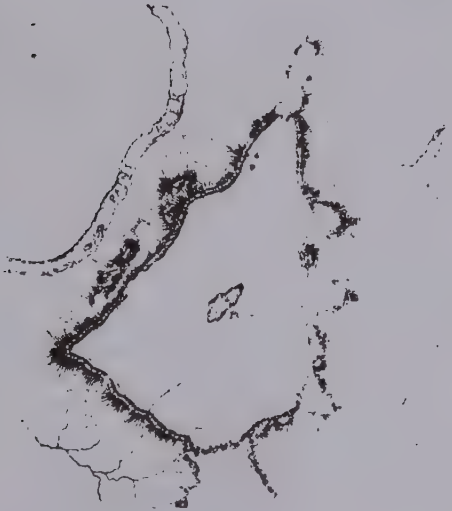
The so-called "enclosures" which cap the hill-tops are usually regarded as "forts" or military defenses. These are built of stone or earth and in rare instances of both. The hill-top defenses are not relatively numerous but exhibit in their construction great engineering sagacity and skill and almost inconceivable labor. The enclosures on the plains or river bottoms are almost exclusively of earthen material and are either walled towns or structures for refuge or safety; possibly some were religious temples. They are of all dimensions and forms, many of them presenting combinations of circles, and squares and geometrical figures of great variety.

The most pronounced, because of its size and location, hill-top stone fort, indeed the largest stone edifice of the Mound Builders in this country, was erected on Spruce Hill, in the southern part of Ross county. This work occupies the level summit of a hill some four hundred feet in height; the elevation is a long triangular shaped spur, terminating a range of hills with which it is connected by a narrow neck or isthmus, which affords the only accessible approach to the "fort," for the hillsides at all other points are remarkably steep and in places practically perpendicular. Spruce Hill was admirably chosen for the purpose of defense and observation for its summit commands a panoramic view of the encircling valley through which runs Paint Creek. Within a radius of two or three miles on the plain beneath, were located many groups of aboriginal works, including isolated mounds and extensive enclosures.



### SPRUCE HILL FORT

The largest stone fort of the Mound Builders in Ohio or in the United States, located on Spruce Hill, east of Paint Creek in Ross County. The walls were two and one-quarter miles in length and enclosed an area of one hundred and forty acres.



SPRING HILL FORT

The largest stone fort of the Seminole War or in the United States located on Spring Hill, near Palm Creek in Ross County. The walls were two and one-half miles in length and enclosed an area of one hundred and forty acres.

It was a mound building neighborhood; the site of Chillicothe, a great mound building center, was only eleven miles distant to the northeast.

The fort wall, composed entirely of fragments of sandstone from the hill ledge and cobblestones, found in abundance on the summit, was carried around the hill a little below the brow. The stones, loosely piled one upon another with no other means than their own weight to hold them in place, formed a barricade with an average base width of eight or ten feet and a height varying from six to eight. The width and height of the wall originally varied, as the ruins indicate, according to the requirements of the summit contour and the naturally weak or strong defense features of the line followed. At the places where the approach was most easy the wall was broadest, being at certain points thirty feet across the base, while at one point where the perpendicular rock cliff rendered protection unnecessary, the wall is wanting entirely. Where the defense crosses the isthmus, some seven hundred feet wide, the wall was heaviest and here was the main, if not the only, entrance, a gateway opening upon the terrace extending beyond. This gateway consisted of three openings in the wall, the intercepting segments of which, in each case curving inward, formed a horse-shoe, whose inward curves were forty or fifty feet in length, leaving narrow passages, no wider than eight feet, between. Through these defiles the enemy would have to pass in attempting an entrance. At the northern apex of the fort another gateway existed, protected as the others by inward walls. From this latter opening the hillside sloped down into the valley,

affording steep but possible ascent. There was no moat or ditch at any point either exterior or interior to the wall, which measures two and a quarter miles in length and encloses an area of over one hundred and forty acres. The magnitude of this hill-top stone enclosure exceeds any similar construction attributed to the Mound Builder. It evinces tremendous labor and unusual ingenuity of arrangement, and the wonder at this stupendous work grows when it is remembered that it was erected without the aid of beasts of burden or any mechanical assistance. It was literally built by manual labor and by "piece work." Such a fortress so situated, must have been impervious to the assaults of savage warfare.

It was in a fair state of preservation less than a generation ago. But to-day the walls are in sad state of demolition, caused by the thrifty farmers who make spoil of the displaced stones for the reparation of their fences. The scene of that once imposing fortification is now fit subject for some Volney on the ruins of empires or a Byronic apostrophe on the "broken thrones and temples" of a bygone nation.

Less extensive though more impressive than the Spruce Hill fort is the fortification in Brush Creek township, Highland County. It is the best preserved of the stone defensive works of the Ohio Mound Builders. It was first described by Prof. John Locke, of Cincinnati, in the Ohio Geological Report for 1838. Squier and Davis made a thorough examination of it in 1846, publishing the result of their work in the "Ancient Monuments." Many surveys have been made since that time, notably one by Henry A. Shepherd, who gives an excellent description in his "Ohio Antiquities."

### FORT HILL—HIGHLAND COUNTY

The most perfectly preserved stone fort of the Mound Builders, on Fort Hill, Highland County. The walls remain almost intact and enclose from forty to fifty acres of area.



GENERAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

FORT HILL—HIGHLAND COUNTY

Some one saw the fort on a hill. The most perfectly preserved stone fort of the Mound Builders, on Fort Hill, Highland County. The walls

are in places from forty to fifty acres

The fort is situated on a hill

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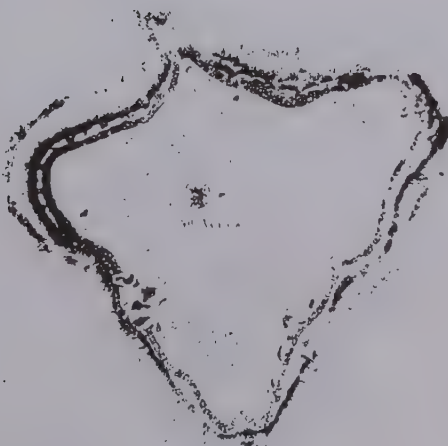
Fort Hill, entirely detached by Brush Creek and deep ravines from any other elevation, rises abruptly about five hundred feet above the river bottom. The precipitous sides for the most part present a succession of minor cliffs, shale banks, wash-outs and jutting rocks. Only at two points can the summit be reached and then by no easy effort as the writer can testify from personal experience. Encircling the top of the hill, which presents a level area of some fifty acres, is an embankment of earth and stones, mostly the latter, which were first piled up, the earth then being used as a filler. The stone was found on the spot in the weathered fragments of the sandstone ledge which crowns the hill. The wall, which mainly follows the brow of the hill, has an average base of about thirty-five feet; its height varies from six to ten feet, though at some points it reaches a height of fifteen feet. Interior to the wall is a trench or ditch, some fifty feet in width, made by the displacement of the earth material for the wall, which is between eight and nine thousand feet, or over one and a half miles, in length. It has been estimated that it contains seventy-five thousand cubic yards of stone and earth. The whole fort in its outline forms the figure of a "leg and foot, with slender ankle and sharp heel, the two corners of the shin and calf and heel and the toe form the four bastions." The openings originally made in the wall, thirty-three in number, are spaces ten to fifteen feet in width, arranged without apparent order or regularity. The purpose of these openings is inexplicable, as few of them could be used for ingress and egress, most of them being at points where the approach to the fort is an almost impossible ascent. The toe or northern

tip of the fort presents a bold, bluff ledge, some two hundred feet wide and rising twenty feet above the encircling wall, thus affording a natural sentinel tower, from which one may view the valley below. On the rocky flooring of this natural outlook were evidences of the action of fire, indicating that it must have been a beacon station, the flaming lights of which could be discerned for miles in all directions. The peculiar method of its construction and the inaccessibility of its location have enabled this fort to withstand the siege of time and human demolition better than the enclosure of Spruce Hill or any similar work. This crude but decay-defying parapet was the most cunning work of the primitive savage, the relentless warrior of a stone age; here in time of war he resorted for refuge and to light his signal fires to warn his people in the valley that the stealthy and merciless enemy was on the war-path. That those days were long, long ago, is proven by the scattered trunks and limbs of the fallen arboreal veterans and the still standing venerable giants of the forest. Every evidence of great antiquity is here presented. Hundreds of years these mammoth-trunked, lofty-limbed, old fellows have grown and wrestled with the winds and storms that beat about this fort. Some of them in hoary age were to go down at last in the unequal struggle against the elements. Locke, Squier and Davis, Shepherd and subsequent experts designate chestnut and poplar and other trees still standing with the age, so they claim, of six hundred years and more. And the surviving witnesses stood over and grew from the decomposed remains, half hidden by the accumulating soil, of predecessors of similar size and perhaps

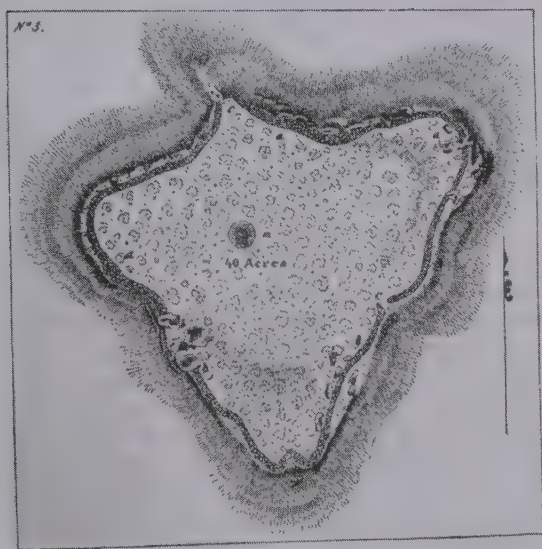
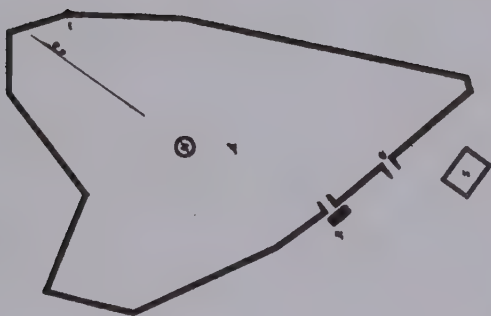
# GLENFORD STONE FORT

Outline diagram of the fort plan made by Caleb Atwater in 1818 and printed with a description in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for 1820.

The lower figure is a drawing made by Colonel Charles Whittlesey and published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge (1850).









equal longevity. These trees, living and dead, surely turn back the hands on the dial of time and point to a most remote period before the stone heaps were even abandoned, and how long they had stood before the forest took possession is beyond human ken. What would one give for the story of this primitive fortress, its patient and painstaking builders, their life within its precincts, their feats of daring and suffering, the long starving sieges, their brave and death dealing sorties, the storm and stress of relentless conflict, when to the arrow and missels of the boldly approaching foe they returned thrusts of flint spears and hurlings of crushing boulders. Could they have been recorded and preserved, may not the annals of these people have left us topics for epics as thrilling and dramatic as those of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*? But their heritage to us is oblivion. The only response to our earnest query for their past, as we stood one day on the "watch tower," monarch of all we surveyed, was the gentle flutter of the leaves as they met the morning breeze.

A "fortification," known as the Glenford Stone Fort, is another most interesting and important hill-top enclosure, because of its admirable location and the fact that its remains are still sufficient for its form to be easily traced and its construction to be understood. The geography of this hill and the situation of the fort are both nearly reproductions on a smaller scale of Spruce Hill and its summit defense. The Glenford hill, crowned by the fort is located in the northern part of Perry County, and is the northwestern terminus of an upland range that juts into a beautiful valley extending perhaps two miles respectively east and west.

The jutting land point is elevated about three hundred feet above the Jonathan Creek that skirts the western slope. The hill summit, practically level, is terminated in nearly every direction by a vertical ledge of sandstone from six to ten feet in thickness, the outcrop of the caprock. Indeed the hill is precipitous in its rise at all points, save at the neck and for a few hundred feet on the eastern side where the bluff is absent and the hillside becomes a gentle slope. The selection of such a site again demonstrates the acute cunning of the Mound Builders. No locality could better answer his purpose. A hill commanding the valley; a level space for enclosure; a defense partly provided by nature and a quarry readily at hand for the masonry of his wall. Considering what must have been his mode of warfare, here could be erected a citadel that would defy attack. The wall of the fort, formed solely of the sandstone fragments found on the spot, follows closely around the summit edge except where the protruding ledge required no artificial defense.

The line of this wall, as evidenced by the remaining scattered stones, can be traced intact along its entire length, though so many of the stones have been hauled away it is difficult to determine the original dimensions and shape. The total length was near seven thousand feet, something over a mile and a quarter, with an average base width of ten or twelve feet, and a general height of six or eight. The area enclosed was twenty-six acres. The chief gateway opened upon the isthmus connecting with the extending hill range. Here the wall was re-entrant along the sides and greatly strengthened, as at Spruce Hill.



On several of the hills flanking the Jonathan Creek valley were earthen mounds the fires of which could easily have been seen from the Glenford fort. Indeed the gentleman, a resident of Glenford Village, who acted as our guide, informed us that extending across the country for a distance of some twenty-five miles was a series of hill-top mounds, or small enclosures, so placed that smoke or fire signals from their summits could be exchanged between them.

The old fort is now a romantic ruin, for mingled with its scattered and crumbling masonry are the trees of all ages and varieties; maple, oak, beech, chestnut, poplar, ash, and others canopy with overhanging branches the moss-grown stones of the walls, while with their clutching roots the forest invaders push the sandstone blocks asunder.

The southwest portion of the state, especially the valleys of the Great and Little Miamis, was a region thickly dotted with the habitations and monuments of the Mound Builders.

Within the present limits of Hamilton County, between four and five hundred mounds and some fifteen important enclosures were noted by the early travelers and settlers. One of the most notable of these is located on "Fort Hill" at the mouth of the Great Miami. It has been generally designated as the "Miami Fort." It was first brought into notice in the literature concerning the Mound Builders by William Henry Harrison, who though a Virginian by birth became an Ohioan by adoption, marrying a daughter of John Cleves Symmes and settling at North Bend, where his remains are now buried. General Harrison was a

man of unusual literary and historical acquirements, and had he never been known as a general or president he would have won distinction as a scholar. He intently studied the Ohio Mound Builders and the Ohio Indians, and we are indebted to him for much valuable investigation and information on those subjects. He carefully surveyed "Miami Fort," giving his results in a scholarly address, published (1839) in the Transactions of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

The site of this fort is strikingly analogous to the hill-forts heretofore described. The Great Miami, flowing southwest, debouches into the Ohio at a sharp angle. An upland elevation, some two hundred feet or more in height, thrusts its nose prominently out into this land angle, separating the two rivers. On the peak of this elevation is the fortification. It is very nearly a parallelogram in shape, conforming to the summit contour of the hill. The walls are unusually massive and strong, exceeding in that respect those of any other enclosure in the state. These ramparts, though in places sadly depleted, are in large measure well preserved and the experienced explorer may easily follow the lines of defense, which are from thirty to fifty feet broad at the base with a height of ten feet or more. They are built of earth and stone, the latter being used to give strength and stability to the earth filling. The gateways or artificial openings could not have been more than two or three in number. The declivities on the north and south sides of the fort are precipitous and in the olden days must have been almost unascendable, indeed for some distance on either

## MIAMI FORT

Miami Fort on "Fort Hill" at the mouth of the Great Miami, showing plan of the fort as drawn by General William Henry Harrison in 1839.

The lower figure shows the location of the fort as to the Ohio and Miami rivers.

LAZARUS

The lower figure shows the location of the fort as to the Ohio and Alabama rivers.





of the longer sides, so perpendicular are the hillsides that it is quite impossible to detect the line dividing the hill-top from the base of the wall. The area enclosed is only about twelve acres. It was a snug little fort. Below the southwest wall, facing the Ohio, is a gentle slope, leading to the summit of a "nub" or circular spur of the hill, upon which is a conspicuous mound, some fifty feet in diameter and originally ten to fifteen feet in height. From this "observatory" mound one obtains one of the most entrancing views in the state of Ohio. The valley of the Great Miami is at your feet on the west; just across the gently flowing stream are the hilly ranges of Indiana, through which courses the White Water River, mingling its singularly pure blue and green water with the muddy yellow of the Miami, a mile or two above the latter's entrance into the Ohio. On the south sweeps with majestic curve, the Ohio.

It was on a mid-summer day, that Professor G. Frederick Wright and the writer, stood on the summit of that outlook mound, and reveled in the beauty of the charming landscape. My distinguished companion told the story of the creation of this panorama; how it took cycles of years to mold this land and carve out the great heights and depressions and then how the final touches were put to the picture by the icy fingers of the glacial hand; how the great frozen avalanche came down the trough of the Ohio and meeting an obstruction near this point, choked the channel and formed a glacial dam high enough to raise the level of the water five hundred and fifty feet, forming the "Ohio Lake." The glaciers acted as great freight cars

that hauled down sand and gravel and covered the hillsides and filled the valleys. The mouth of the Great Miami was the southwest point of this great ice bed in Ohio. That was decades of centuries before the Mound Builders climbed the steep hill, erected their stronghold and, according to General Harrison, made their last stand for their Ohio land. He surmises the Mound Builders may have been the Aztecs, in which case, "the direct course of their journey to Mexico and the facilities which that mode of retreat would afford, seem to point out the descent of the Ohio, as the line of that retreat. It was here (Miami Fort) that a feeble band was collected to make a last effort for the country of their birth, the ashes of their ancestors and the altars of their gods."

Commanding the rivers as it did, Miami Fort was certainly one of the most strategic points of the Mound Builders' system of defenses. Several archæological authorities, particularly General M. C. Force, in his interesting essay on the Ohio Mound Builders, point out that from this elevation (Miami Fort) a line of signals could be put in operation, which in extent would cover the southwestern portion of the state. This signal system of wireless telegraphy included, according to General Force, the numerous prehistoric works on the Great Miami, dotting the banks of which they stretched in a line as far north as modern Piqua, "all put in communication with each other by signal mounds erected at conspicuous points." Fort Ancient on the Little Miami stands as "a citadel in the rear of the center of this line." He also figures out a series of alarm signal mounds along the Scioto from a mound

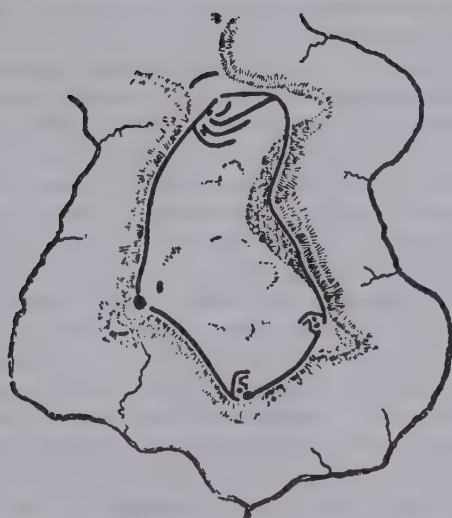


### BUTLER COUNTY FORT

Fortified Hill, Butler County, three miles below Hamilton. This fort is famous for having the intricate so-called Tlascalan gateways, after the plans employed in the prehistoric stone wall defenses of the Province of Tlascala, Mexico.









near Worthington down the entire length of the valley to the works at Portsmouth, a distance of over a hundred miles.

Certain it is that in prehistoric times, no less than in the later pioneer days, the Great Miami was a frequented waterway, for along its valley plains were numerous sites where dwelt the Mound Builders, while many of the hill-tops, on each side of the river, were capped with walled enclosures or various shaped single mounds. After entering the *Riviere a la Roche*, as he called the Great Miami, Céloron, in his voyage north to Pickawillany, passed (1749) beneath the war-like embattlements of many an earthen fortification. These earth-built "strongholds" defended the hill summits, no less securely than the stone turrets, which, like grim sentinels, guarded the rock cliffs of the romantic Rhine, and doubtless these simple, crude bulwarks of clay on the heights of the Big Miami were reared before the German Barons erected their towered castles. After paddling past four or five of these ancient fortresses, deserted and tenantless then as now, the plucky sailors of the little French fleet might have sighted the shadows of a peculiarly constructed muniment which we call the Butler County Fort, because located in that county, three miles below the present town of Hamilton.

This "fort" was accurately described by Mr. Squier in a pamphlet, published in New York in 1847. He made a careful survey of the works, the plat of which was afterwards used in the extensive volume of Squier and Davis.

The fort hill, like nearly all of the heights similarly protected, is the termination of an upland range that

rises to an elevation of two hundred and fifty feet and extends out like a long tongue into the valley, surrounded at all points, except the narrow neck towards the north, by deep, steep-sided ravines. Skirting the brow of the hill and generally conforming to its rim, was the wall of earth and stone, having an average height of five feet with a base of thirty-five. The length of the wall embankments was about three-quarters of a mile, not counting the gateway defenses, and the area enclosed was some seventeen acres. The hill summit, thus enwalled, rises gently on all sides from the rim towards the center, forming a knoll or camel-hump which at its greatest altitude is some twenty-five feet above the encircling walls. From this apex one may overlook the entire surrounding country, presenting the Great Miami valley on the east and the valley of Indian Creek on the west.

On our visit we found the fading forms of the earthen walls overgrown with forest trees and almost obscured by impenetrable underbrush and tanglewood. There remain faint outlines of the famous north gateway and its crescent outpost. For it was the complicated protection to the four gateways or openings, three at the southern extremity and one at the north, facing the land neck, that peculiarly distinguished this fortification. Interior to the openings were "covering" walls of a "most singular and intricate description," a series of overlapping labyrinthian breastworks, so fashioned that the entering enemy would become entrapped between them. Exterior to the gateway was a massive crescent-shaped mound extending across the land neck, convexing towards the plateau that afforded

the approach to the fort. This gateway plan is in almost exact correspondence to the so-called Tlascalan gateways, employed in the stone wall defenses of the province of Tlascala, Mexico, and described by Cortez and other early Spanish writers. This form of gateway with variations, is found in other works of the Mississippi and Ohio Valley Mound Builders and leads to the inference that there was some ethnical relationship between the Ohio Mound Builders and the ancient Aztecs and Toltecs.

We pass from these stone and semi-stone hill-top defenses, of which there were several that we must leave unmentioned, to the chief masterpiece of the Mound Builders known as Fort Ancient. It is easily foremost among the prehistoric fortifications for ingenuity of design and perfection in construction. Its value is greatly enhanced by the fact that owing to the patronage of the state of Ohio and the custodianship of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, it is in a complete state of restoration and preservation and stands to-day probably as its stood in its pristine perfection. An account of this colossal structure, accompanied by a correct plan, which we herewith reproduce, appeared in the "Port Folio," a magazine published in Philadelphia for the year 1809. Since then, from time to time, innumerable descriptions and diagrams have appeared in publications, American and foreign, for it has attracted the attention of scholars the world over, and has been examined and explored for a century by the leading archæologists of this country.

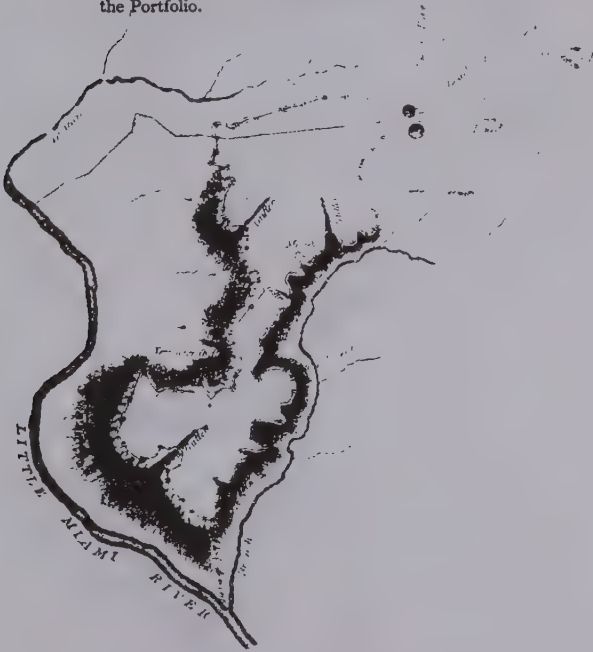
The site selected for this fortress, temple or walled city, whichever it may have been, was most advantage-

ously chosen, on a slightly rolling plateau, overlooking the panoramic valley of the Little Miami River, in central Warren County. The Miami, coming from the north, at the point in question, passes through a valley a mile in width and flanked on each side by elevated uplands, the east one of which is nearly separated from the adjoining plateau by two deep ravines, beginning within a few hundred feet of each other, the one starting north and then curving to the west, forming the bed of the little stream known as Randall Run which enters the Miami, north of the fort; the other ravine, the bed of Cowen Creek, starting south curves to the west, debouching into the Miami south of the fort, which is thus seen to occupy an almost isolated peninsula, the level plateau of which, three hundred feet above the Miami bottom, is surmounted by Fort Ancient. The banks of the ravines described form steep sides on the east and on the north of the peninsula which they cut off and to which the only approach, save a modern circuitous roadway on the river hillside, is the neck or strip of level plain between the heads or sources of the two ravines. The ravines on the south, east and north of the hill thus formed are exceedingly irregular in outline, creating sharp arms, jagged points and deep indentations in the hillside. The contour of the hill plateau is like that of a dumb-bell, two almost evenly sized oval fields united by a long narrow neck, on each side of which the declivity is too steep for ascent; this narrow connection divides the defenses into what are known as the North or New Fort, the Middle Fort and the South or Old Fort. The terms "new" and "old" were suggested by the idea that the South Fort on the



## FORT ANCIENT

Plan of Fort Ancient (Warren County). This plan, with an explanation, was published in the Portfolio (Philadelphia) for June, 1809. It was the first illustration of the fort ever made. Reproduced from the original in the Portfolio.



PORT VINCEN

The plan of the Port of Ancient (Warren County) This plan, with explanation, was published in the Portfolio (Philadelphia) for June, 1890. It was the first illustration of the Port made. Reproduced from the original in the Portfolio.

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apex of the peninsula was naturally the first one to be constructed, as it, utilized alone, would be more secure and inaccessible than the new one which was later taken in to protect the entire hilltop. This supposition like much that is put forth concerning the fort, is however a fanciful guess.

Around this entire peninsula, on the very verge of the skirting ravines, was built the wall of defense; meandering around the spurs, recoiling to pass the heads of the gullies, that here and there cut into the hillsides, the wall is so zigzag in its course that it has an entire length of eighteen thousand, seven hundred feet or more than three and one-half miles, while a direct line from the north wall to the south wall is only five thousand feet or less than a mile. The entire enclosure embraces about one hundred and thirty acres. This wall is a marvelous piece of defensive construction. Its width, height and contents vary as the requirements of the hill-top and the proposed formidableness of the defense demands. The base breadth is from thirty to fifty feet, in some places as much as seventy; the height from ten to twenty-five feet, measuring from the level of the fort interior. The level top of the wall has an average width of twelve feet and the sides, therefore, have an outward slope of from thirty-five to forty-three degrees. The wall height is much increased at places on the interior by a moat or ditch, two to seven feet deep, from which the material was taken to build the barricade. Outside the east wall of the North Fort, where the wall faces the only level approach, a moat was built, the only outside moat in connection with the fort. The walls are all constructed of earth, the

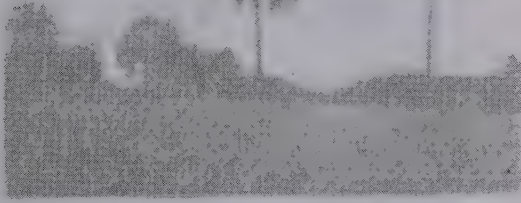
soil being a tough, diluvial clay or loom. Stones were used only in the wall ends at the gateways or openings as "steadiers" and to aid in preventing the earth from giving way. In rare exceptions large flat stones were found in layers in the wall, but in the main the embankments were solely of earth, the solidifying effect of time and the protecting coverings of grass rendering them impervious to the decay of age or the ravages of weather, it being a well-known fact that earthen monuments stand the storms of seasons and the strain of time better than edifices of stone.

One of the greatest mysteries of this encircling wall is the frequency of the openings or so-called gateways, numbering seventy-two. They are ten feet or less across the base and are perfectly preserved. They defy explanation as most of them are at points on the hill-top, inaccessible because of the precipitate ascent, and the query is heightened by the fact that in some instances outside the wall, before the opening or gateway, is built a narrow earth elevation or platform, which might be used as a look-out or sentinel stand. The Middle Fort is long and narrow, the hill slope on either side being too steep for ascent. Near the center of the narrow passage is the crescent gateway, a sort of intermediate barricade, consisting of two curving mounds, side by side, each convexing toward the north and extending to the parallel walls on either side. This defense seems to mean that the enemy would be expected to first attack the New Fort and if successful then advance along the neck and assault the Old Fort. The crescent duly manned would check if not defeat the enemy's progress. The entrance to the Old Fort is called the

### WALLS OF FORT ANCIENT

Portion of the East Wall (north), Fort Ancient. View taken from the field outside and east of the wall.

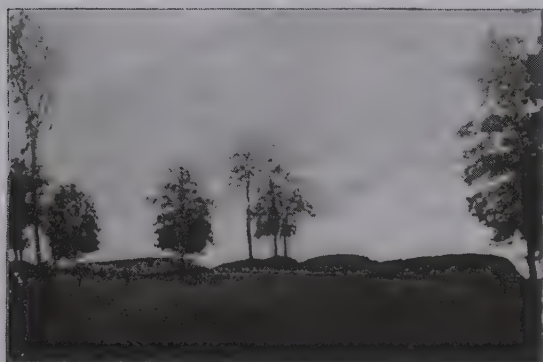
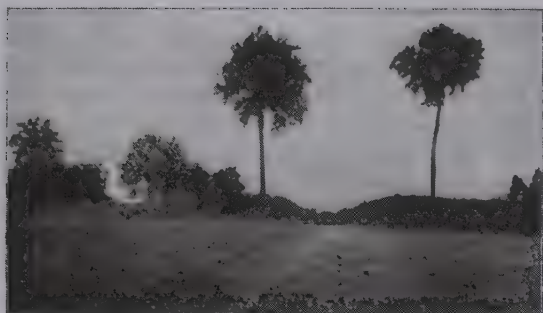
The lower picture presents a section of the west wall (north), Fort Ancient, near the entrance to the middle fort. View taken from the inside of the fort, looking west. Photographs taken for Ohio History.



# WALLS OF PORT ANCIEN

Portion of the East Wall (north), Port Ancien. View taken from the field outside and east of the wall. The lower picture presents a section of the west wall (north), Port Ancien, near the entrance to the middle fort. View taken from the inside of the fort, looking west. Photographs taken for Ohio History.







Great Gateway and is only wide enough to permit a wagon to pass, and just within the entrance, on the west side, is a conical mound, ten feet high with a base diameter of forty feet, near which were found heaps of stones, used both as coverings for graves and to strengthen the wall. Human bones in great quantities, "bushels of them," were found here a few inches below the surface soil. Was this mound the monument to heroes, of a Thermopylae, who battled bravely for the "pass," like the three hundred of Grecian glory? We cannot tell for

"Here, where they died, their buried records lie,  
Silent they speak from out the shadowy past."

Near the center of the Old Fort was located the "cemetery," the largest burying-ground of this fort people. Within a radius of a hundred feet, some three hundred graves were found and "over a thousand wagon loads of stones" were removed therefrom by different excavators. Professor Warren K. Moorehead made explorations in this fort, covering in the aggregate more than forty-three weeks, during the years 1888 to 1891. The results of these researches were published in his valuable volume "Fort Ancient." Professor Moorehead exhumed some twenty complete skeletons. The graves were sunk an average depth of two and one-half feet and were encased with limestones which were plentiful in the ravines and river bottom below. These stones were arranged around the sides, head and feet and over the remains of the interred bodies. The space between the encasing stones and the body was usually filled in with earth. These skeletons, which generally crumbled to dust on being exposed, showed little or

no difference in size and form from the modern human being. The "skulls were well shaped," and Professor Moorehead thinks, presented two types of mentality, a lower and a higher order; dolichocephalic and brachycephalic, the craniologists would call them; the long and flat heads or receding forehead and the short heads or "high brows," the latter belonging, presumably to the "smart set." Professor Moorehead further claims that the tree growths surmounting some of the graves indicated that the burials antedated the period when the Indians were known to have first immigrated into or occupied this portion of the country; that is, the post-Columbian historic tribes, such as the Delawares, Shawnees, etc. Mr. Warren Cowen, for the past twelve years the faithful and efficient custodian of the Fort and resident thereon, states that he removed from the space including the cemetery the stump of a walnut tree which a distinguished botanist estimated to be between four and five hundred years old. Outside the walls of the fort, at various points, perhaps a dozen in number, some twenty-five feet down the declivity, are terraces, only a few feet wide, whether artificial or natural is in dispute, which were used as graveyards or burial sites. The graves in the main were similar in construction and contents to those just described, except that some of these terrace graves contained united burials; a sort of group tomb. One of these plural tombs on the terrace west of the Old Fort, covered a space twenty feet wide—the width of the terrace—and fifty feet long. The quantity of stones removed therefrom was equal to one hundred wagon loads. It required the labor of three men for two days

to displace the loose masonry of this crude mausoleum, from which fragments of twenty skeletons were exhumed.

That the great enclosure was to a certain extent at least, a walled city, is attested by the remains of a "village" therein, explored by Professor Moorehead. This village was in the Old Fort and adjacent to the cemetery already described. The evidences were the circles of burned earth, ash heaps, pottery and animal fragments, bones of the bear, deer, etc., charcoal, burnt stones, etc., marking the places where the tepees or lodges had been erected—in short the same discoveries that disclose village sites elsewhere. No metal implements of any kind were found, except a few pieces of beaten copper. Thousands of primitive implements of war, the chase and domestic life, arrow and spearheads, axes, skinners, etc., were found in the fort precincts, indicating great active life therein.

Just outside the northeast gateway of the New Fort, in an area of about an acre were found vast numbers of bulk flint and flint chippings, consisting of countless pieces of unwrought flakes and innumerable fragments in various stages of workmanship, of arrows, spearheads, knives, awls, needles, etc. The stock for this storehouse or "factory" was supplied, as the character of the flint reveals, solely from the vast fields of Flint Ridge in Licking County (Ohio), for there are no flint quarries in the vicinity of Fort Ancient. Such in brief is Fort Ancient.

Like all other works of this early people Fort Ancient was unmistakably the product of builders who wrought only with the tools of a stone age. There were no

steam shovels, no derrick scoops to lift the earth and dump it in position—it was “hand made.” Not even horses, mules, oxen or wooden sledges facilitated the labor. Though in justice to all authorities it should be noted that there is one unique theory in favor of animal aid. Dr. Frederick Larkin in his “Ancient Man in America” sedately introduces the suggestion that the mastodon, the bones of which are found in Ohio and elsewhere, contemporaneously with those of the Mound Builder, was a “favorite animal and used as a beast of burden” by them. Mr. Larkin then seriously declares it is not difficult for him to believe that those ancient people “tamed that monster of the forest and made him a willing slave to their superior intellectual power.” Such being the case he adds: “We can imagine that tremendous teams have been driven to and fro in the vicinity of their great works, tearing up trees by the roots or marching with their armies into the fields of battle amidst showers of poisoned arrows.”

The age and object of this stupendous structure have elicited every variety of conjecture. It would be entertaining to recite all the curious purposes attributed to this work. One thinks it was a great relief map of the continent of North and South America, the lines of the New and Old Forts bearing a striking resemblance to the outlines of the Western Hemisphere. Another that the walls of the two forts resemble two great serpents turning and twisting in deadly conflict—as the serpent, supposedly, was the chief religious symbol of those primitive people. Another regarded it an immense trap to secure game. The hunters would form

### GREAT GATEWAY

In Fort Ancient, leading from the middle fort to the old or south fort.

### STONE GRAVE AND SKELETON

As discovered by Professor Moorehead in the Prehistoric Cemetery of the Old Fort Ancient.

YALWAY

old or south fort, In Fort Ancient, leading from the middle fort to the

## STONE GRAVE AND SKELETON

As discovered by Professor Moorhead in the Prehistoric Cemetery of the Old Fort Ancient.

Cemetery of the Old Fort Ancient.

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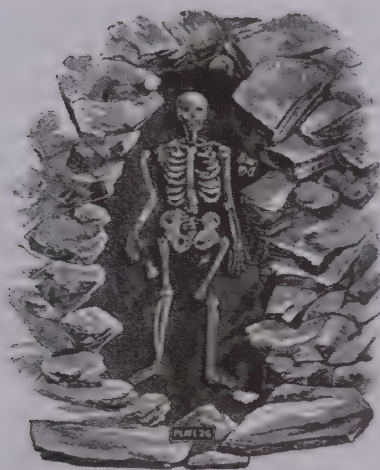
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lengthy lines the country around and drive the buffalo, deer and wild game into this corral, where the animals could be retained and killed at pleasure. Others conclude it was a vast holy temple, in which religious ceremonies of great and imposing nature were at times celebrated. Again it is merely a walled town. But mostly it has been designated, as before stated, a military fortress, the safe retreat and refuge for the tribesmen of the surrounding country. To our mind it is not impossible that it was the fortified capital of these people in the Ohio valley. May it not have been the national seat of government, the federal headquarters of the confederated tribes? Certainly it was the center of a great Mound Builder population, for the Miami valley in this neighborhood was alive with these people, as the various scientific explorations indubitably testify. At the base of the fort hill, on the broad bottom of the river, was a village site great in extent; one mile and a half below the southern extremity of Fort Ancient was "another large village covering some eight or ten acres, rich in graves and debris; two miles up the river is still a third, so large that it must have been occupied by two or three hundred lodges—while at the mouth of Caesar Creek, six miles to the north, are two extensive sites, one in the bottom and the other upon the hill to the south."



CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC; LOWLAND ENCLOSURES



THE lowland enclosures baffle description and enumeration. They abound in the valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto and Little Miami, though a few are found in other parts of the state. The earthen walls of these enclosures are usually from fifteen to thirty feet broad at the base, eight to twelve feet in height, with a level top a few feet less in width than the base, the sides, slightly sloping, very often so gently as to be easily ascended. The material of the walls consists, in almost every instance, solely of the soil found in the immediate vicinity. The earth-wall structures have an endless variety of forms and appear to have been used for different purposes which purposes are now past determination. The most common figures are those of the square and the circle, portions of each of which are employed in endless combinations. Many of the enclosures are irregular, with no definite shape; others, however, have designs so definite and suggestive as to give the idea that they are symbolic—such as the crescent, the circle, the horse-shoe, the ellipse, the cross, the triangle, the octagon, and numerous other geometrical figures. Often there are enclosures within enclosures, curious and multishaped arrangements all surrounded by a great circle or square. Some of the enclosures are very large, the walls being a mile or more in length, suggesting, says one author, “the idea that they were used for defensive purposes;” others are very small, containing but the fraction of an acre, intimating that they may have been “lodge circles” or religious courts. The walls themselves contain no burials or articles of any kind whatever and therefore give no hint of the mystery locked in the grass-grown,

weather-defying, earthen ramparts. Mr. Stephen D. Peet, Editor of the *AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN* and author of several works on "Prehistoric America," speaking of these enclosures, after admitting the uses to which they were put are unknown, proceeds to say: "some of them were used as places of amusement, dance circles and race courses; others were probably used as places of religious assembly, estufas or sacred houses; some of them contain effigies, the effigies giving them a religious significance."

The most intricate of these nondescript works are located in the Licking Valley near the city of Newark. In Licking County there are, or were, probably five hundred earth works of various descriptions. Those which comprise the most famous groups occupy a plain between Racoon Creek and the south fork of Licking Creek, which plain is elevated from thirty to fifty feet above those watercourses. The earth-walls, shaped into a score or more of different designs, extend over an area of four square miles. No word description is adequate to convey to the mind of the reader a just idea of the magnitude and puzzling character of these works. We reproduce the diagram of the figures made from the survey of Charles Whittlesey and relied upon by Squier and Davis in their "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley." The growth of the city of Newark has encroached upon the original works, portions of which were thus obliterated; but the group, as remaining today, surpasses all others in this country in size and intricacy of construction.

Only a general description can be attempted. Referring to the Whittlesey chart, the southern circle



**NEWARK EARTH WORKS**

Plan of the Prehistoric Earth Works at Newark, Ohio, reproduced from the printed diagram in the Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The survey for this plan was made for Squier and Davis by Colonel Charles Whittlesey about 1850. Most of the works still stand as originally erected centuries ago.

A detailed archaeological plan of the Newark Earth Works, showing various circular and polygonal mounds and earthen walls. The plan includes labels for 'Area 50 4 feet', 'Area 52 4 feet', and 'Area 53 4 feet'. It also shows a 'River' and a 'Road'.

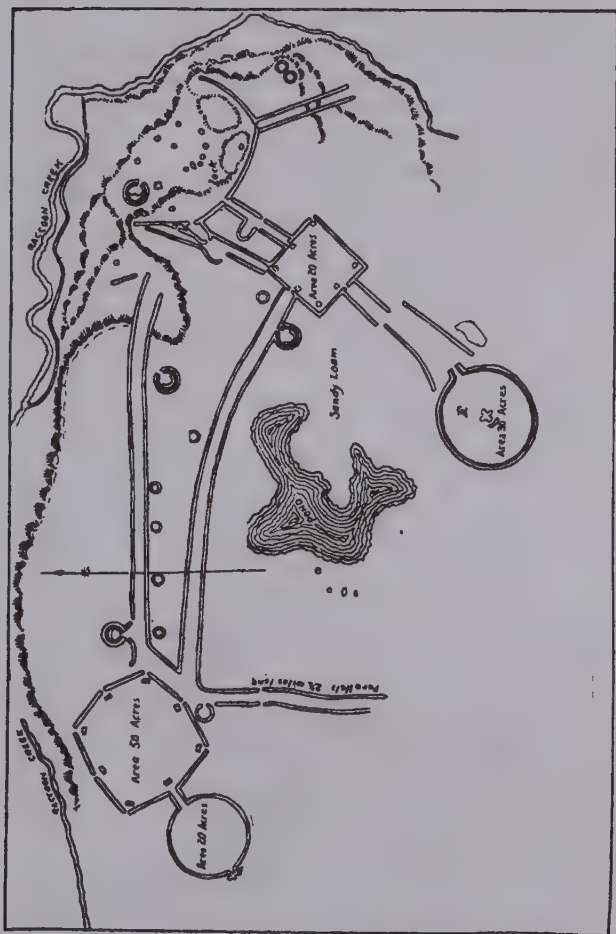
Plan of the ~~rehabitory~~ <sup>rehabitory</sup> Earth Works at Newark, Ohio, reproduced from the printed diagram in the Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The survey for this plan was made for Squier and Davis by Colonel Charles Whittlesey about 1850. Most of the works still stand as originally erected centuries ago.

NEWARK EARTH WORKS

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Charles Whittlesey, about 1850. Most of the works still  
to this day were made for Spier and Davis by Colonel  
1850 Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The survey  
reproduced from the printed diagram in the Twelfth  
Plan of the Parisian Earth Works at Newark, Ohio.  
Painted by Mr. Stephen

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consists of an embankment twelve feet high and fifty feet broad at the base, with an interior ditch seven feet deep and thirty-five feet wide, the area enclosed being upwards of thirty acres. In the center is a mound in the shape of a "huge bird-track," the middle toe being one hundred and fifty feet, and the other two toes, one hundred and ten feet in length. Leading from the gateway of this enclosure are parallel embankments some two hundred feet long which lead into a broad space flanked by walls not of great height but extending, with irregular breaks, half a mile to the entrance of a square containing about twenty acres, and having a low mound at each corner and also at each central entrance of which there are three, one each on the north-east, west and south. From the northeastern gateway, there run parallel walls, one with a curious curve in the center, for a thousand feet, to a series of low walls, "as intricate almost as a Cretan labyrinth," and there is met an arched embankment of circumvallation, embracing numerous low mounds and one small circle, with other designs too bizarre to be described. Recurring to the square, we find, starting from its gateway in the northwest wall a broad avenue of parallel walls a mile in length; just north of these is another pair of parallels of the same length and equal distance apart. Both these avenues lead to an octagon, which encloses an area of fifty acres. In this octagon, opposite each entrance is a pyramidal mound about five feet high, and eighty by one hundred feet at the base. From the gateway on the southwest side, parallels, three hundred feet long, conduct the observer into another true circle, about one half mile in circumference and enclosing an

area of twenty acres; this circle rests on ground somewhat more elevated than the other figures and is usually spoken of as the "observatory circle" from the parapet of which one can best overlook the entire group, a magnificent work, "which," says Professor J. W. Foster in his "Prehistoric Races," "no one whose mind is susceptible to whatever is grand in nature or in art, can view with indifference," and Squier well adds, "here covered with the gigantic trees of a primitive forest, the work truly presents a grand and impressive appearance; and in entering the ancient avenue for the first time, the visitor does not fail to experience a sensation of awe, such as he might feel in passing the portals of an Egyptian temple, or in gazing upon the ruins of Petra of the Desert." Mr. Foster further remarks: "No one, I think, can view the complicated system of works here displayed, and stretching away for miles, without arriving at the conclusion that they are the result of an infinite amount of toil, expended under the direction of a governing mind, and having in view a definite aim. At this day, with our iron implements, with our labor-saving machines, and the aid of horse power,—to accomplish such a task would require the labor of many thousand men continued for many months. These are the work of a people who had fixed habitations, and who, deriving their support, in part at least, from the soil, could devote their surplus labor to the rearing of such structures. A migratory people, dependent upon the uncertainties of the chase for a living, would not have the time, nor would there be the motive, to engage in such a stupendous undertaking."

In the vicinity of the Newark groups is the prehistoric structure known as the Fair Ground Circle. This wall circle is almost perfect in its geometrical symmetry, the longest diameter (from east to west) being eleven hundred and eighty-nine feet; the shortest eleven hundred and sixty-three feet. The wall of the enclosure varies in width from thirty-five to fifty-five feet, and from five to fourteen feet in height. There is an outside ditch or moat from thirty-five to forty feet wide and from eight to thirteen feet deep. Within the center of this great circle, some three quarters of a mile in circumference, is a huge mound, or rather a group of four mounds, which has been described as resembling an eagle with outstretched wings, the head pointing directly to the gateway or entrance to the circle. To our mind it requires some employment of the imagination to recognize this group as the great bird of liberty, though, says one who has carefully studied it, "it was probably intended for some such image." It is one of the very few effigy mounds found in Ohio, there being but two or three others, one of which is in this neighborhood, on the outskirts of the village of Granville. It is known as the "Opossum" or "Alligator" mound—some consider it a replica of a lizard. It appears to take the form most readily occurring to the mind of the observer, reminding one of the imaginative faculty of Polonius, who at the respective suggestions of Hamlet, could see a camel, a weasel or a whale in the same "yonder cloud." This effigy stands out, or did some years ago when first visited by the writer, in bold relief upon the hillside, the total length, from nose to tail-tip, being two hundred

and fifty feet; breadth of body, forty feet; length of each leg, thirty-six feet; average height (relief) four feet. Whatever it was, it will soon be the irreparable prey of the plow-share of the thrifty yeoman who reveres not this priceless relic, doubtless the religious shrine of a primitive race, for close to the upper side of the effigy was, when originally found, an elevated circular space or flat mound, covered with stones which had been much burned, indicating its use as an altar, from which, to the top of the back of the effigy, was a graded way ten feet broad. Here then must have gathered the clans for ceremonial, perhaps sacrificial rites.

That the country round about the present site of Newark was a populous one with the Mound Builder is partially accounted for by the location of the great flint quarries in the southeast corner of the present Licking County. The Mound Builder has been properly called a "practical lithologist." Belonging to the stone age, he knew nothing of metals and much less of the art of reducing ores to useful implements. His crude utensils were solely of stone, bone and wood—save in rare instances he made use of beaten copper. Flint was his most valued and most employed raw material because of its compact, homogeneous, durable texture. This rare geologic composition, that Shakespeare calls "the everlasting flint" which nothing can e'er wear out, existed in vast quantities in a vein that caps the hill-tops in a range between the present sites of Newark and Zanesville. This vein, which gives to this locality the name of "Flint Ridge," is from two to ten feet in depth and covers an area some ten miles in length, with an average width of three miles, the



entire field being therefore some thirty square miles. This Flint Ridge is literally honey-combed in every quarter with hundreds of pits and cavities of all dimensions from that of a scoop-out a few feet across to those a hundred feet in diameter and sunk the full depth of the vein. The method of mining is not definitely known but from the clear evidences of fire and the frequent discovery of stone hammers, weighing respectively from twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds, it is believed that the separated chunks were secured by building fires in the fissures of the flint, under its ledges or on its surface, then upon the heated rock dashing cold water, the reaction splitting portions loose. These detached fragments could be broken into smaller pieces which were carried to the "finishing shop" or local habitation of the artisan, where it was reduced to various sized flakes, which were finally chipped by stone, wood or bone into the desired implement, an arrow or spear-head, a flesher, a drill or some other of the innumerable implements. Chips of all sizes are still found in myriad numbers over the area of the "ridge," proving the immensity of the work done in these quarries, which were the exhaustless mines for both the Mound Builder and his successor, the Indian. The aborigines must have resorted to this ridge for a long period of time, doubtless centuries, for it was certainly quarried anterior to the construction of many of the mounds in Ohio and West Virginia, for arrows, cores and flakes from "Flint Ridge" were found in them.

"Flint Ridge" though not the only flint quarry in the state, was the one most patronized by the primitive

Ohioan because of the superior quality of its product, which is easily distinguished from that of other mines. This flint shows an almost endless and pleasing diversity of coloring, there are large beds of striped jasper and chalcedony; and all shades of color, from pure white to dull black, red, yellow, blue, brown, indeed nearly all the tints of the rainbow. Some of the specimens picked up by the writer are as beautiful as the most delicate moss agate, so that beauty cast its spell over this hard, impenetrable material so deftly shaped by the savage.

"At the door of his wigwam  
Sat the ancient arrow-maker,  
In the land of the Dacotahs,  
Making arrow-heads of jasper,  
Arrow-heads of chalcedony."

The Muskingum valley is rich in prehistoric remains and the mouth of that river was chosen as a site for what might be called one of their most "classic" centers. When the Pilgrim Fathers of the second Mayflower landed at the place they named Marietta, they found, not the ruins, but the undisturbed remains of a town (?) founded and left by a prehistoric people, of whom the Indian delegation which greeted the Ohio Company of Associates upon their arrival could give no knowledge or surmise.

The plain on which the Marietta works stood is from eighty to one hundred feet above the river level and is about three-fourths of a mile long by half a mile broad. The works of this ancient town, now almost entirely obliterated by the encroachment of the modern city, consisted mainly of a circular mound with adjacent

### THE MARIETTA WORKS

Plan of the prehistoric works at the mouth of the Muskingum as found by the Ohio Company of settlers in 1788. The works are now nearly destroyed. The circular mound on the right now stands in the city cemetery. This drawing is from the plan printed by Squier and Davis about 1850, which was a reproduction of the survey drawing made by Charles Whittlesey.

RISE AND PROGRESS

plan of the penitentiary works at the mouth of the Mississippi as found by the Ohio Company of settlers in 1788. The works are now nearly destroyed. The circular mound on the right now stands in the city center. The drawing is from the plan printed by Smith and Davis about 1850, which was a reproduction of the survey drawing made by Charles H. Smith.

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linear wall and two enclosed squares containing areas respectively of twenty-seven acres and fifty acres. Within the larger of these squares were four pyramids or platforms, one of which was nearly two hundred feet long and one hundred and thirty feet wide, with a height of ten feet. Three of these altar mounds had inclined passage ways to the altar summit, thus suggesting a racial affinity between the Mound Builders and the temple erecting people of early Mexico. From the center of the southwestern wall of this square enclosure there proceeded from the gateway by gradual descent, for a distance of seven hundred feet to the brink of the Muskingum River, a graded way or passage called by the first settlers, the "Via Sacra," one hundred and fifty feet broad and flanked by embankments from eight to ten feet high, with a base twenty-five feet in thickness. The smaller square mentioned above contained no temple altars, but from the southern entrance a wall passage, some three hundred feet in length, led to the entrance of the circle that enclosed the conical mound, some fifty feet high, with a base circumference of three hundred feet, a mound still preserved intact in the city cemetery.

Dropping down the Ohio to Portsmouth, the mouth of the Scioto brings us to one of the most remarkable series or systems of works in the state. The diagram aids in getting an idea of their uniqueness. A curious arrangement of circles, semi-circles and horse-shoe figures, are located east of the present city upon the terrace above the river. From this puzzling group, parallel walls extend two miles due west to no apparent destination, while a second pair of walls stretch south-

west to the city limits. Still a third set of parallel embankments, starting from the same central group, extend three miles southeast to the Ohio river bed. Immediately opposite the terminus of the Ohio graded way, the parallels are resumed on the Kentucky side, near the mouth of Tygart River, and continue a mile and a half to and into the center of a series of concentric earthen circles, four in number, the exterior, or outside, one of which is probably over a mile in circumference. These concentric circles are cut into four equal segments by parallel walls making broad avenues each one of which leads to the conical mound erected in the inner enclosure. This river-divided scheme defies explanation, Squier and Davis after describing the works conclude: "And it is easy, while standing on its summit, [Kentucky conical mound] to people it with the strange priesthood of ancient superstition, and to fill its avenues and line its walls with the thronging devotees of a mysterious worship. Whatever may have been the divinity of their belief, order, symmetry, and design were among his attributes; if, as appears most likely, the works that most strongly exhibit these features were dedicated to religious purposes, and were symbolical in their design." Indeed it would seem that no other motive than religious zeal would impel a people to the creation of works so enigmatical and so vast.

As already noted, the southwestern portion of the state, the valleys of the Scioto and the Miamis, and the intervening territory, was the chief land of the Mound Builder, the region wherein "his name was legion." One of the probable theories concerning the



### THE SCIOTO VALLEY

Twelve miles of the Scioto Valley north from Paint Creek, showing the Harness Group, High Bank, Hopetown Works, Cedar Bank, Mound City and Dunlap Works, with lesser earth remains of the Mound Builders. The works formerly on the site of Chillicothe are all destroyed.

# THE SCIOTO VALLEY

Twelve miles of the Scioto Valley north from Point  
Creek showing the Haines Group, High Bank, Hopewell  
Works, Cedar Bank, Mount Gray and Dunlap Works  
with later earth remains of the Mount Pleasant. The  
works formerly on the site of Chillicothe are all destroyed.





migratory course of this mysterious people, is that they came from the far South, up the Mississippi; thence ascended the Ohio and because of the equable climate, fertility of soil, suitable contour of land and advantages of the water courses, chose for their settlements the hill-tops and valley bottoms skirting the Ohio streams. The valleys of the Miamis give prolific evidence of the presence of the prehistoric man, as do also to lesser extent, the Sandusky and Cuyahoga, but the rivers flowing north into Lake Erie did not attract the aboriginal man as did the rivers connected with the Ohio. Of this southern territory the Scioto valley, with its tributary streams, Brush, Paint, Deer and Darby creeks, and farther north the Olentangy, is the region by far the richest in the remains of his ancient occupancy. Here he lived and thrived,

"As free as nature first made man,  
Ere the base laws of servitude began,  
When wild in woods the noble savage ran."

In Scioto and Pike counties his "foot-prints" may often be found, but Ross county was the arena of his densest population and greatest activity. Squier and Davis, unquestioned authority, say they found one hundred enclosures of various sizes and five hundred mounds in this county. The site of Chillicothe, Ohio's first capital and in the vicinity of which the Indian found his favorite camping ground, was once the scene of a group of the walled enclosures of the prehistoric dweller, and clustered thereabouts are many of the greatest works of his genius. Ascending the Scioto, just before reaching the mouth of Paint Creek, one would pass on the right, some eight miles below Chillicothe, the

"Harness group," consisting of a square of twenty-seven acres area, two circles, one of forty acres, the other eight, and two semi-circles, all curiously united. Two or three miles farther up the river, is the "High Bank" structure, characterized by a circle of twenty acres, opening into an octagon of nearly the same area; immediately adjacent are parallel walls, half a mile in length, with exterior circular accessories. Pushing our canoe another two miles up stream, we reach, on the terrace of the left bank, another variety of combined squares and circles, embracing altogether perhaps fifty acres. As we continue the journey the terrace lands, on each side, offer many single mounds and small figure enclosures. The territory west of Chillicothe, flanked by a tributary of Paint Creek, is dotted with the ever-recurring earthen works. Three miles above the city we pass, on the left, a very large circular enclosure, set some distance back on the upland, while on the edge of the terrace overhanging the river is "Mound City," an enclosed square, the wall, three to four feet high, each side of which is a thousand feet long, the corners of the same being rounded rather than angular; the enclosed area of thirteen acres is dotted with twenty-five conical or semi-spherical shaped mounds, explorations of which revealed altars and innumerable remains—one of the richest fields of discovery for the excavator. On the opposite side of the river—the right as we proceed north—surmounting the river bank, is the famous "Hopetown Group," a circle of twenty acres tangent to a rectangle of the same size with two smaller contiguous circles; from this duplex figure there extend southwest to what was once the brink of the Scioto,

### PAINT CREEK

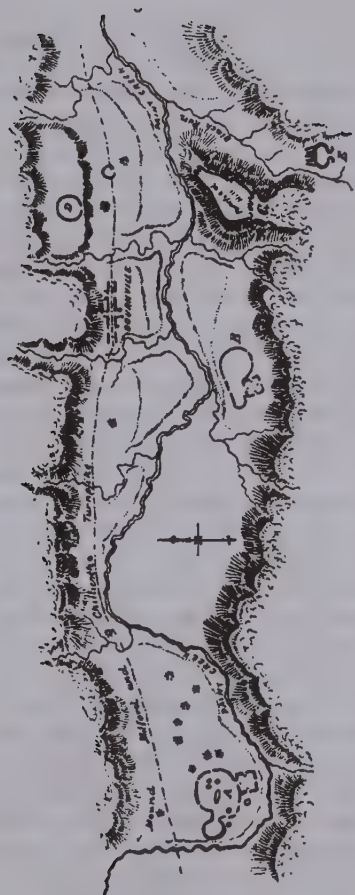
Six miles of the Paint Creek Valley, from near where the creek enters the Scioto River. This map shows (A) Seip Mound, (B) Baum Village Works, (G) Spruce Hill and Fort, and other lesser works.



# PAINT CREEK

Six miles of the Paint Creek Valley from near where the creek enters the Scioto River. This map shows (A) High Ground, (B) Baum Village Works, (C) Spruce Hill and Fort and other lesser works.







parallel walls presumably a covered avenue, half a mile in length. Passing small circles and a crescent, directly north of "Hopetown," where the river curves to the west, we encounter, on the table-land, the "Cedar Banks" square; walls forming three sides of a parallelogram, the fourth side being protected by the natural bluff, seventy feet high and facing the river. Within these walls was a "temple mound" or elongated platform, four feet high, two hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred and fifty feet in width, provided with graded ascents at each end; another reminder of the Toltec altars of Mexico. Two miles further north on our left are the "Dunlap Works," a small circle, a large square and lengthy parallels. But we cannot enumerate, much less describe, even the most remarkable of these incomprehensible works on the Scioto, which works more and more excite our wonder and exercise our imagination; the futility of our explorations increases the fascination, which they create. A brief glance at the Paint Creek valley and we proceed to another feature of these people. The "Hopewell Group" is the most extensive exhibit in this region; on the north fork of Paint Creek; the chief figure of which is a parallelogram one hundred and eleven acres in area, the wall nearest to, and paralleling, the river bank, is half a mile in extent; its main gateway opens into a perfect square containing sixteen acres, with four entrances, one on the center of each side, each opening having the often employed inner mound, which stands like a bulky, imperturbable sentinel guarding the open gate. Within the great parallelogram are numerous mounds and two striking enclosures, one a

circle and the other a large crescent or half moon, with the horns united by a straight connecting line. Near the present villages of Bourneville and Bainbridge are works equally deserving our attention had we time to dwell thereon.

We reluctantly cease our sight-seeing tour among these marvels of an unknown age and race. There is scarcely a point along the Scioto, below Circleville,—to make place for which city vast works of the Mound Builders were destroyed,—to the river's mouth, where one may not be within a short distance of some form of aboriginal handiwork. A ponderous volume could easily be written upon the Mound Builders' remains with their almost "infinite variety," comprised within a twenty mile section of the Scioto River and Paint Creek valleys.

From its juncture with the Olentangy, to its mouth, a hundred and fifty miles, the Scioto runs its course through a continued story of the Mound Builder, a story the curious and fascinating illustrations of which form a panorama of a vanished empire, a story the text of which is lost, but which if it could be restored would doubtless unfold a volume of human interest, which not even the lore of the Nile could surpass. On the tops of the hills bordering the valleys of the Scioto and its tributaries, in which the earthworks are found, mounds occur in considerable numbers, the most elevated and commanding positions being often crowned with them. An enthusiastic antiquarian, who devoted much time and study to the examination of the Mound Builders' remains in the section mentioned, demonstrated by actual survey, that the signal forts or ele-

vated watch towers, which occur in the Scioto valley, formed a regular chain or system and that by means of fires upon them, signals could be sent up or down the valley from Columbus to Portsmouth. Many of the works of which we have spoken and the hundreds not mentioned still stand intact in their pristine formation, though some are mutilated and many obliterated; great pity it is that the ruthless hand of rapacious civilization has not been stayed in its work of shameless desecration and destruction. Priceless treasures, far transcending in value the "wealth of Ormus or Ind," are these remaining monuments. Says one author: "Proud, stately marble palaces and temples have fallen into shapeless masses of ruins, while the simple mounds erected by a rude and primitive people have withstood the elements and retained almost perfectly their original forms and proportions."

If the fifteen hundred "enclosures," existing or known to have existed until recently in Ohio, present an inexhaustible study in their extent and variety, then the isolated mounds, the estimated total number of which in the state exceeds, or did but a few years ago, the appalling number of ten thousand, must surpass our comprehension. The mounds are comparatively scarce in the northwestern and southeastern part of the state, in the northeast they are often found but in the center and southwest they prevailed in almost countless numbers. In size they vary from a knoll three feet in height and less than twenty feet in base diameter to the largest one, that at Miamisburg, sixty-eight feet in perpendicular altitude, eight hundred and fifty feet in base circumference and containing over

a million cubic feet of earth. The most of these mounds, often called tumuli, from the Latin *tumeo*, to swell—literally a little swelling—of the earth, are conical shaped with a “flat dome or segment of a sphere.” These mounds, it must be borne in mind, are simply piles of earth—except where rarely stones are used—heaped together without the slightest evidence of any mechanical assistance—the massing together of small lots from a peck to two pecks in size, the amount of a single load—borne by the carrier to the desired spot in a basket or in a sack or bag or skin—and flattened out by the weight of the loads deposited upon it.

The erection of the mounds, so far as known, were for two purposes, first as watch towers; this usually when they are built on the hill-top, as hundreds of them have been, and second, those on the lowlands, as tombs or sepulchres, the receptacles of the dead. The burial mound was the first and the universal architectural expression of primitive man, and the earliest glimpse we get of any people is the earthen mound containing the remains of the tribal hero or chief or departed kin. These burial mounds, of crudest form, everywhere more or less similar in shape and material, are found in the uttermost parts of the earth; in Russia, China, Japan, India, Egypt, Greece, wherever man has found habitation. Homer recounts in the *Odyssey* how over the ashes of Patroclus and Antilochus a “great and symmetrical tumulus” was raised that “it might be seen from afar by the living and by future generations of men.” Likewise in the *Iliad* “a mound, with all speed was erected over the grave” of Hector.

It should be understood that we are examining only tumuli belonging to the prehistoric man and not the mounds attributed to later Indians. It is known that the Indians—the historic Indians—did occasionally engage in mound building, but so seldom that for the purposes of our study we do not take their works into consideration.

The researches in the ancient mounds establish the fact that more than nine-tenths of them contain human remains, thereby demonstrating that their prime purpose was sepulchral. As a rule, not many bodies were covered by a single mound; the number varying from one to twenty, rarely as many as the latter, the average being perhaps six. The number usually bears no proportion to the size of the mound. The manner of the burial is in great diversity. In some mounds large quantities of bones—representing many bodies—are found mingled in confusion, suggesting a “communal burial,” in which the skeleton remains of those who had died during a period of several years were gathered up, and deposited at one time. The skeletons are found in all conceivable positions and in all parts of the mound though ordinarily the bodies were laid on the surface of the earth and the mound raised to its final height over them. In some cases the arrangement of the skeletons denotes successive burials, one above another or even side by side, the mound being enlarged as the burials required until all lay within one large completed structure. The interiors of the mounds disclose altars—low tables or basins—differing in form, size and material, the latter being clay, sand, stone or ashes. Again the remains revealed modes of incineration—



burning of the body—either before or at the time of burial. More often than otherwise, articles—presumably the possessions of the inhumed—ornaments, war implements, domestic utensils—were buried with the dead. It is from these funereal accompaniments that we learn much of the nature and life of the Mound Builders.

It would be wearisome and profitless to attempt any extended description of the mound explorations by such experts as Cyrus Thomas, Frederick Putnam, Warren K. Moorehead, Gerard Fowke and others. We confine ourselves to a few typical cases the careful and more recent researches of Prof. W. C. Mills, who has employed the latest and most improved methods of investigation. The earlier excavators with the laudable purpose of preserving the mounds, usually conducted their examinations by either sinking a vertical shaft from the top of the mound to the bottom or by running a horizontal tunnel, at the base line, from the circumference to the center, sometimes both. While that method spared the mound, it was not so satisfactory in results, as the lack of proper light and the unavoidable damage to or destruction of the interior contents made the discoveries incomplete. The method of Professor Mills is to level or annihilate the mound. This, however, only when the mound in question is otherwise marked for destruction. Beginning at the top the earth is cautiously removed in thin layers. Thus all the contents are found in their exact position and relation to the mound and to each other, and are removed intact, while views may be taken of each stage of the process, thus preserving the actual situation in every



### ADENA MOUND

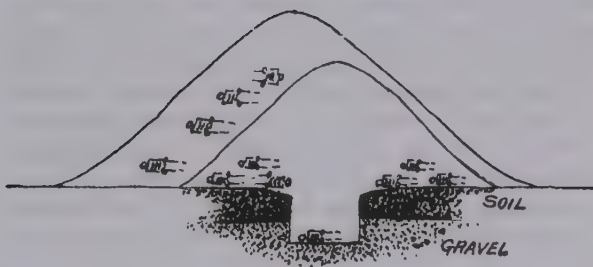
Diagram showing formation of the Adena Mound when explored; revealing the outlines of the mound as first constructed and the mound as subsequently enlarged; also showing the sub-surface tomb.

### GARTNER MOUND

A "trinity" mound, comprising three separate mounds, the intervening spaces having been subsequently filled in so as to complete the composite mound.









section of the constructive history of the mound. We refer to only a few of the more interesting excavations.

One of the most prominent mounds explored by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society under the direction of its Curator, Professor Mills, was that known as the Adena Mound, near Chillicothe, at the foot of the hill upon which rests the time-honored and spacious mansion called Adena, once the residence of Governor Worthington. This mound at the time of demolition for scientific purposes was near twenty-seven feet high with a circumference of five hundred and fifty feet. The work of exploration, beginning at the summit, soon revealed that it was a double mound; the original mound—twenty feet high with a base diameter of ninety feet, having been enlarged by a subsequent addition as shown in the diagram, the soil of the second period differing from that of the first. Thirty-three burials were opened in the mound and as many skeletons removed; twenty-one from the original mound and twelve from the secondary one. The burials in each section differed in mode; those in the original tumulus were all within a few feet of the level surface or base of the mound; those in the later portion were scattered from top to bottom, being mere interments in the earth with little or no attempt at grave structure or accompaniment of ornaments or insignia, showing the additional mound had been built up as new burials were made. The bodies in the original portion had in many cases been enveloped in a coarse woven fabric, or wrapped in a bark and all enclosed in a rude sepulcher made by placing unhewn logs at the

sides and ends of the body with a top covering of smaller timbers. These log encasements had long ago decayed, and crumbled away, but leaving the impact earth solid in its position, thus creating a grave cavity eight to nine feet long, five to seven wide and eighteen to thirty inches in height. In these chambered graves, ornaments of great variety were found; especially copper bracelets and rings that encircled the arms and the fingers of the favored skeletons. These copper adornments were occasionally wrapped in a covering of woven fabric, just mentioned; it was the most primitive form of cloth, made from the bast fibre of plants or the fibrous inner bark of trees. This prehistoric textile, found in many mounds, revealed under the microscope that it was woven in the many methods known to the weaver, the "simple" and the "reticulated," etc., varieties of inter-crossing the warp and woof threads. But the chief discovery in the Adena mound was that of a subterranean chamber, directly under the center of the primary mound and entirely beneath the original surface line. Layers of bark covered the floor and sides of the underground room, fourteen feet long, near twelve wide and seven high. Upon the bark flooring lay the skeleton of an adult, who in life had the noble stature of six feet. The skeleton had been wrapped in three layers of bark and the upper bones of the legs had been painted red and then swathed in woven fabrics. Around the honored dead lay nine large leaf-shaped flint knives, all finely wrought, while numerous other articles betokened the high character or office of the dead. Here must have

lain a mighty ruler or chief, perhaps the hero of his tribe of whom Bryant might have truly written in his "Disinterred Warrior,"

"Gather him to his grave again,  
And solemnly and softly lay,  
Beneath the verdure of the plain,  
The warrior's scattered bones away."

Near the top of this sepulchral chamber on the base line of the mound were the remains of a great "fire place," the ashes of which lay fourteen inches thick, intermingled with great quantities of burial mussel shells and the bones of various birds and animals, the food of their captors. These bones were found in all parts of the mound as were ornaments and implements, many specimens most skillfully made; earthen jars—found in fragments only—shell hoes, fresh water mussel shells, with perforations through which the end of the wooden "hoe handle" would be thrust and fastened; bone and shell beads in abundance—strings of them—on skin or fibre threads—were found encircling the necks of skeletons, generally those of children; awls and needles, the latter, six to eleven inches in length, made from the bones of elk and deer; flakes of mica cut into artistic figures.

The Mound Builder seems to have been universally a smoker, for his pipes, stone and clay, were everywhere in evidence, and the art of their manufacture must have been a favorite one. Among the many lesser specimens here unearthed was the masterpiece of this artifact; it was eight inches long, and exquisitely carved to represent the human form in nude state, save a cloth covering around the loins. It was made of clay,

such as was found in the nearby Scioto bottoms, burned to a red color and highly polished. It must have been the prized gem of some tribe chief. Professor J. W. Foster in his "Prehistoric Races" notes, "with the Mound Builder tobacco was the greatest of luxuries; his solace in his hours of relaxation, and the choicest offering he could dedicate to the Great Spirit. Upon his pipes he lavished all the skill he possessed in the lapidary's art:"

"From the red stone of the quarry  
With his hand he broke a fragment,  
Moulded it into a pipe head,  
Shaped and fashioned it with figures."

Such were some of the features and archæological riches of Adena Mound, now no more save in the record of the explorer.




### CHAPTER III.

## PREHISTORIC; VILLAGE SITES



#### GARTNER MOUND GRAVE

Photograph of opened grave in the Mound, showing remains of human skeleton and the earthenware bowl near head of the figure. It was a frequent custom of the Mound Builders to place bowls near the head of the dead. This photograph was taken by Professor Mills at the time of his explorations.



# GARTNER MOUND GRAVE

Photograph of opened grave in the Mound, showing remains of human skeleton and the earthenware bowl at head of the figure. It was a frequent custom of the Mound Builders to place bowls near the head of the dead. This photograph was taken by Professor Will in the time of his explorations.





ON the Scioto River six miles north of Chillicothe was, before its recent destruction, the Gartner mound, now famous for the wealth of knowledge and material derived from its exploration. This mound, standing on the site of a prehistoric village with an area of four acres, was a "trinity" structure, comprising three separate and distinct mounds, the intervening spaces having been subsequently filled in so as to complete the triple composite elevation which was eight feet high and seventy-five in diameter. All three sections of the mound were replete with skeleton burials, or the charred remains of cremated bodies, in various fashions of interment. We cannot particularize as to details, save to note that large "crematories" were unearthed therein. These were platforms of hardened earth, the largest being thirty-two feet long, sixteen wide, the elevation being two feet. These platforms were on the earth's surface line in the base of the mound, evidently being village altars or tables on which the dead were burned, subsequently the platforms were covered by the mound. With the burned skeletons and heaps of bones were found the usual variety of implements and ornaments.

We practically ignore the exploration of the mound to study the village site that surrounds it; a site known to have been a residence center of the Mound Builder from the evidential remains, such as tepee pole holes, ash and storage pits, bake cavities or "ovens" and the countless articles buried beneath the surface or scattered promiscuously above the ground. Vast quantities of animal—no less than seventeen varieties—and bird bones were strewn about. There were fine speci-

mens of stone hammers, shell, flint and bone scrapers, whetstones to sharpen objects made of bone and shell; pipes, pendants and beads; pestles and mortars; bone fish hooks and net sinkers, the latter pebbles notched or grooved so that the fibre or skin string might be fastened about them. The Mound Builder was an expert in the piscatorial art and sunk his nets and cast his line and hook into the Scioto, without restraint from any game law.

The storage pits of this village exhibited the food productions and "bill of fare" of the primitive man. More than one hundred of these pits—large holes sunk in the ground—were uncovered. In these pits, sometimes several feet in depth and diameter, often with a flooring of straw or bark that also lined the walls, were found beans, shelled corn in woven bags, or ears of corn laid in regular order upon the bottom; seeds of the pawpaw, hickory nuts, walnuts, chestnuts, seeds of the wild red plum, etc. Surely there was no lack of variety of vegetable articles of diet to accompany their lists of meats from the wild game of the forest.

But more interesting still were the two "clam ovens" or mussel "bakes," made by digging an opening in the ground five feet deep and four in diameter. Each oven had been burned until the clay on the bottom and sides was red to the depth of several inches. The baking process was simple. A fire was started in the oven, quantities of small bowlders were thrown upon the fire and upon these heated stones mussels of small size were heaped till the pit was filled, the top was then, no doubt, covered over with grass and the mussels left to bake. After the "feast, which it no doubt was,"



says Professor Mills, the shells were thrown back into empty pits. Thousands and thousands of these shells lay near the two "bakes."

Another of the chief village sites that proved a mine of information for the explorer is that of Baum village on Paint Creek, a few miles from its entrance into the Scioto, and within sight of the Spruce Hill fortification.

The village extends over more than ten acres of ground, in the center of which is a large square mound. Immediately adjoining the village location are extensive wall enclosures in circular and square form, embracing some seventy acres which were all described by Squier and Davis in 1846 in the great work on "Ancient Monuments." The Baum village, so-called from the proprietor of the land, has been a favorite field for the explorer, both state and national; Professor Mills has elaborately exploited it in a monograph publication of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Here the evidence is that the tepees or domiciles in which the prehistoric man lived were permanent and not temporary abodes, evidencing that the Mound Builder was stationary rather than migratory in his habits. This conclusion is further sustained by the magnitude and permanency of his fortifications and enclosures. The largest tepee in this village was twenty-two feet long and twelve feet wide. The large post holes, twenty-one in number, showed the posts—small tree-trunks with the bark attached and "cut" the proper length by being burned off—had been set upright on the line of the sides of the tepee; within this exterior line were seven other posts, similar in size to the outer ones, but promiscuously placed, presuma-

bly as columns or pillars to support the tepee roof, which must have consisted of bark, grass or skins, as there were no indications found pointing to the use of earth plaster. In the center of the tepee was the great fire place, four feet in diameter and six inches deep, the hearth being bowl shaped, and the packed earth forming it burned to a brick red to the depth of eight inches. The accumulated debris, about this hearth, was filled with implements and ornaments, both finished and unfinished, polished stones, broken pottery, hammer stones, a large mortar, and bones of animals, mostly those killed in the winter season, indicating, says Professor Mills, that the tepee was the scene of domestic activities during the winter, and that during the spring, summer and autumn the preparation of food was mostly done outside at the large fireplaces close to the tepee, which was no doubt in many cases, not only one family home but that of two or more families—a group habitation. The village was a cluster of tepees, all smaller than the one described. Adjacent to each one was, usually, a subterranean storehouse and a burial place, which private burial ground was generally in close proximity to the tepee, perhaps not more than three to ten feet distant. The store house, too, was often a near neighbor to the burial plot, for the ancient man had little regard for sentiment or village sanitation. These three, the tepee, the store cellar and the grave, completed the “home” requirements of the Mound Builder. There was also one large or common cemetery in which thirty burials were unearthed. It was also discovered that in some instances the cistern-like holes, primarily used as refuse

pits, were later used as graves, and the store pits, became refuse pits or graves as emergency required, showing the facility with which the prehistoric man adapted himself to circumstances.

Here the bones of the prehistoric dog were found in great numbers, the only domestic animal attributed to these ancient people. The remains of this dog indicated, says Professor Lucas of the Smithsonian Institution, a "short faced dog, much the size and proportions of a bull-terrier, though probably not short haired." Professor Putnam of Harvard University who has collected bones of the prehistoric canine in all parts of the world and found the same type everywhere, says "this variety of dog is apparently identical with the pure blood Scotch collie of to-day;" and he further comments, "if this is the case, the prehistoric dog in America, Europe and Egypt and its persistence to the present time as a thoroughbred is suggestive of a distinct species of the *genus canis*, which was domesticated several thousand years ago, and also that the prehistoric dog in America, was brought to this continent by very early emigrants from the old world." From the Baum village refuse and store house pits the bones of animals, used as food, were removed by the wagon load; elk, black bear, wolf, mountain lion, wild cat, fishes, opossum, ground hog, beaver, musk rat, rabbit, gray squirrel, weasel, field mouse, box turtle, snapping turtle, wild turkey, great horned owl and barred owl, Canada goose, trumpeter swan, blue heron, bald eagle and mallard duck. Certainly the Mound Builder could regale himself with a repast hardly surpassed for variety or palatability by the cuisine of a

modern epicure. Nor was the vegetable diet less variant and succulent; beans, corn, bitter-nut, butter-nut, chestnut, red wild plums, pawpaw, wild grape, and for the initial course, the assortment of fish which so abundantly filled the streams. In this site, too, were gathered samples of the "prehistoric ceramic art;" fragments, and one or two complete specimens, of the pots or vases. They were fine examples of clay hand-moulding, decorated with crude but often complex figures and designs. There were profuse numbers of implements, stone, flint, and bone for warfaric purposes and also utensils for domestic use, shell hoes, spoons and cups, bone needles, awls, scrapers, gorgets, ceremonials, etc.; likewise many varieties of the discoidal stone, the toy of the Mound Builder, employed in his favorite game; a round flat disk, usually concave on both sides and perforated in the center. It was made from the hardest material found, often the boulder, ranging in size from that of a dollar to a small saucer. It was rolled or shoved on the smooth surface in some game like "shinny" or "shuffles." That it was a favorite sport is proven by the prevalence of this "play-thing" in all places where the Mound Builder had his habitation.

The Harness Mound, one hundred and sixty feet long, eighty wide and twenty high, was one of the largest of a group, eight miles south of Chillicothe, in that favorite land of the Mound Builder, the valley of the Scioto. This mound, famous the world over, was first examined by Squier and Davis in 1846. They sank two shafts from the mound's summit to the base level and in each instance penetrated into a log enclosed

#### EDWIN HARNESS MOUND

A typical rectangular grave, showing refuse or charred bones of a human being and the pipes, gorgets, ornaments, ear-rings and shell artifacts buried with the burned bones. Photograph made by Professor Mills at the time of exploration.









tomb, the size of a small low room, within which lay the buried skeleton and accompanying personal effects of the dead. One of the "tombs" contained an earth platform or altar of "exceeding symmetry." The wealth of specimens secured by these explorers were purchased at great price for the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, England. Professor Putnam, in 1885, continued the examination of Squier and Davis, exploring the mound interior from the openings of the former excavators. His scholarly report is one of the documents of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, which was greatly enriched by the "finds" from this archæological mine. Professor Putnam opened twelve graves and burial chambers; the latter with the conventional log sides and covering. The skeletons had been wrapped in woven garments and, in some instances, laid on mats of woven grass. There were the customary ornaments; copper plates, earrings, shell beads, banner stones, etc. A few of the bodies had been burned in the open grave, which was then closed over the charred remains.

Again in 1896, Professor Moorehead conducted investigations by means of tunnels cut laterally into the center of the mound, which tunnels and their branches reached a total length of over two hundred and fifty feet, employing five men for sixteen days. Twenty-seven burials were unearthed, in all but two of which the bodies were found to have been cremated, and the bones had been placed upon little raised platforms of burnt earth, varying in height from four to ten inches "and having a table surface about two by three feet." Professor Moorehead's interesting dis-

coveries are related in full in the publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society of which he then held the office of Curator.

It was reserved, however, for Professor Mills, in the years 1903 and 1905, to raze this imposing sepulcher containing some five thousand cubic yards of earth. In the process of gradually leveling it the professor came upon no less than one hundred and thirty-three graves, in nearly all of which were "cremated burials." The base formation of the mound revealed that its origin, at one end was a "charnel house," an enclosure in the form of a semi-circle or half moon, some sixty by forty feet, outlined by rows of post holes, the original sockets of the upright timbers of the outside walls. A second post enclosure—of larger dimensions—joined the previous one. These charnel houses were filled up with the earth in which the graves were placed, until finally all was covered over by additional layers of soil, completing the mound as found and explored by the indefatigable scientist. "All the burials," writes Professor Mills, "whether cremated or uncremated, were placed in prepared graves and great care and some degree of skill was displayed in their construction." The remains of the half burned bodies, for such there were, the skeletons or mere bone heaps, as the case might be, were laid on clay platforms or in the bowl-shaped cavities. There were log-lined receptacles and mere unprotected burials. The articles obtained in these graves "represent the highest art of prehistoric time," asserts Professor Mills, who removed over twelve thousand specimens from this monument of the ancient dead. There were copper

pieces containing nuggets of silver, which must have come from the Lake Superior region. There were "large ocean shells that were made into drinking cups and ornaments of various kinds which evidently came from the region of the southern gulf; great quantities of mica, some pieces representing the original blocks as they were quarried, other pieces had been cut into geometrical forms and used for decorations." This mica, no doubt, "came from North Carolina; there were crystals of galenite as well as large lumps of lead ore, which came from the North Illinois region; obsidian was also found; an importation from the far West, perhaps the Yellowstone region." All this indicates "that the prehistoric inhabitant of this [Scioto] section had an inter-tribal trade, for it certainly would have been impossible for the Ohio tribes to visit those distant points mentioned." Judging from the material and craftsmanship here discovered in great profusion one may readily infer that the Harness Mound builders were people capable of artistic taste and delicate workmanship. The copper plates, one nine inches in length by five in breadth, were the finest found in the Ohio mounds; beautiful copper axes, one being half a foot in length and proportionately broad, were removed from the sepulcher graves; copper earrings were plentiful in number, their construction evidencing rare skill and ingenuity; they consisted of two similar copper disks, varying in size from a silver quarter to a dollar, made bulging or concavo-convex, the two disks being connected in the center of the convex sides by a uniting bar. The concavo-convex plates, according to Professor Willoughby of Harvard University, were made

over a wooden pattern, the copper sheets being hammered into the required form, for it must not be forgotten that the Mound Builders, the artisans, belonged to the stone age and knew nothing of the melting and molding of metals. These earrings, produced with many diverse details as to size, shape, form of rim, etc., were attached to the ear by thrusting the connecting bar through the perforated ear-lobe and fastening the disks to the respective bar ends. The ornaments cut from the sheets of mica were numerous, artistic and ingenious in design; thousands of pearl beads lay scattered in the graves; not only the genuine pearl, but imitation pearls, made of clay and modeled in exact similarity to the "real thing." The "mud pearls" had been burned to give them a firm constituency and were then coated with a thin flexible mica, thus producing the pearl surface appearance. No unbroken jars or vessels were exhumed but fragments were unearthed and these "sherds plainly show that the fictile products" of these primitive people "are entitled to a high place in ceramic art."

In view of the quality of the artifacts discovered and the deftness displayed in their production, Professor Mills pronounces the "culture" of the Harness mound people to be that of the highest degree reached by the prehistoric Ohioan. The same authority describes the Mound Builders as representing, in different localities, distinctive types of "culture" or degrees of ingenuity and proficiency as indicated by the evidences of their domestic life and the workmanship of their artifacts. The Mound Builders of Fort Ancient, for instance, displayed a different "culture" from those of the Hope-

well Group of mounds. This ethnic classification leads to the theory that there were distinct tribes or divisions of the Mound Builders as there were among the later Indians.

Three miles east of Bainbridge, on Paint Creek, in Ross county, is the Seip group, enclosed figures of a square and two different sized circles, embracing probably a hundred acres in all. It is a group early known to archæologists and explorers, for Mr. Caleb Atwater described the works in the first volume of the *American Antiquarian* in 1820 and Squier and Davis did the same in their "Monuments" in 1846. Professor Mills completely examined the Seip mound which lay within the large circle of the group. This mound proved to be another "trio" in one; the largest being twenty feet high and one hundred and twenty in diameter; the second twelve in height, seventy in diameter and the third, six feet high with a diameter of forty feet. These distinctive sections, all afterwards merged into the complete tumulus, were the three original and separate divisions of a large charnel house, built as previously described by circles of upright posts within the enclosed area of which the earth was packed for the subsequent burials. The sections of the mound had each been built up as graves had been made thereon. Throughout the interiors of the separate sections of the mound were the earth molds made by the decayed posts which had originally supported the charnel house roof. The burials were typical, in most cases the flesh had been removed before burial, the lower limbs drawn up, or the bones disarticulated and "bundled" or stretched out horizontally on the ground, generally on

an altar, or platform. Often the skeletons were found in a sitting posture. The discoveries in the fifty-eight graves, differed but little in character from those found in other explorations already noted. Perhaps the notable exception was the skin of animals made into leather, found in many of the graves; a specimen of "tanning" that was "very fine and soft, resembling the chamois skins of today."

While upon the subject of the village sites and burials there must not be omitted mention, for it can only be that, of the Madisonville cemetery and village site, located in the eastern section of Hamilton county, about thirty miles southwest from Fort Ancient. The village site or "Pottery Field," as it is called, is on a level plateau; the "cemetery" is on a spur reaching out and down from the plateau, which is bounded on two sides by deep and precipitous ravines. The pottery field or village site, first explored in 1878, furnished indubitable evidences of a long inhabited center. There were the small hut or tepee circles of post holes, the ash pits, refuse piles, pottery sherds and vast quantities of bones, shells and fragments of domestic utensils.

The surface covering of the cemetery is a leaf "mold," or accumulated vegetable decay, an average of two feet thick. Beneath this is a yellow clay four to six feet deep, below which still is a stratum of sand. The graves are mostly found on or in the clay beneath the leaf mold covering. The skeletons therein buried were found in every imaginable position; some horizontally on the back or side; some with legs drawn up on the abdomen or to one side; some in a sitting posture.



Many skeletons were buried in a fragmentary state; others piled up on a secondary burial; often skulls were buried alone, in many cases bodies were super-imposed three or four deep. One space fifteen feet square contained thirty-five bodies. Previous burials were often disturbed or crowded to one side to make room for later interments. With almost every skeleton was found a clay bowl or pot, usually undecorated, but often with "salamander or lizard handles," lying against or close to the skull of the interred. In the graves were also found many beautiful artifacts, flint and copper, bone and stone ornaments, beads, pipes, rings and drawings of men and animals, scratched on pieces of slate, stone and coal. Many of these articles were unique in design and most delicate in workmanship, evidencing the rare craftsmanship of the prehistoric artisans. But nowhere was any article exhumed giving evidence that these people had any contact with any European or civilized nation.

Ash pits, countless in number, existed in every section of the cemetery. Several thousand of these have been excavated. They were beneath the leaf mold in the clay stratum and in size were from four to seven feet deep and three to four in diameter. They varied in form, being oval, round, cylindrical, etc. In these were found great quantities of "kitchen refuse;" bones of fish and animals, broken pottery; many of them contained quantities of charred corn both on and off the ear. In some instances the ash pits were subsequently used as graves in which skeletons were interred. This cemetery is the great "city of the dead" of the prehistoric people. Nowhere has its equal been

found. It covers an area of fifteen acres, all overgrown with stately trees, the roots of many of which held in their firm grasp the crumbling bones of the ancient dead.

The explorations of these "catacombs" have been conducted at intervals over a period of forty years, and nearly four thousand skeletons entire or in portions have been removed though a large section of the cemetery is still undisturbed. The explorations were first made under the auspices of the Literary and Scientific Society of Madisonville, and were subsequently conducted by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, which secured possession of the cemetery and which has enriched its museum with the limitless "finds" taken from the graves and village site.

Thus much for the mounds and village sites, upon which volumes have been written by the painstaking archæologist. Many other tumuli and town centers deserve mention for some peculiar characteristic or unique, interesting feature. But we have already devoted too much space to the theme. We have done so because in their remains and relics rest the sole sources of our knowledge of the vanished race that built and lies buried in these earthen structures. They left no written records. Those prehistoric people were speechless save in their monuments and the mementoes they contain. True it has been claimed that inscribed tablets have been found in these mounds, evidencing that the Mound Builder had a written language, a subject fully set forth by Colonel Charles Whittlesey in an article on "Archæological Frauds" in the *Western Reserve Historical Society publications*. Some of these



such as the "Holy Stone," taken from one of the mounds at Newark, and the "Cincinnati Tablet," removed from a mound once standing in the precincts of that city, attracted extraordinary attention and elicited the serious study of scholars of national fame. The first, having Hebrew verses engraved upon it, was proven to be a fraud, having been "prepared" and intruded into its mound lodgment only a short time before it was "discovered." The Cincinnati tablet was undoubtedly genuine as to its place of exhumation and its antiquity but no one has ever been able to determine that the "inscriptions" carved thereon are other than mere fanciful and meaningless lines. Several other alleged "records" have been "unearthed" in the Ohio mounds, but in every instance these so-called "hieroglyphics" have been proven to be modern "intrusions," or deceptions or unintelligible scrawls. It is undoubtedly the unanimous conclusion of all authoritative archæologists that thus far no reliable evidence has been discovered that the Mound Builder had a written language even of the crudest form. But if the Mound Builder was "an unlettered, small-knowing soul," he was like all primitive people, a religious being. He had his faith, his sanctuaries and undoubtedly his ceremonial worship. In Ohio was his greatest spiritual emblem, altar or temple.

The Serpent Mound, the greatest effigy structure of the Mound Builders in America, is a huge earthen bas-relief representing a serpent resting his curving folds upon the summit of a bluff that rises a hundred feet above Brush Creek in Adams County. This bluff, the spur of an elevated ridge, projects abruptly into

the valley which, with its flanking hills, forms an open arena or amphitheatre some two miles in diameter. Upon the slightly inclined crest of this high ridge lies in graceful and gigantic undulations the Great Serpent, so located that it may be seen in its majestic length and snake splendor from far and near in the plains below. For exhibition purposes no finer situation could have been found in Ohio. Moreover this rugged bluff, with its beetling brow, was just such a spot, suggests one writer, as the superstitious man of the primitive age would look upon with peculiar awe as if it might be the abiding place of some great Manitou; a place to inspire "the sentiment of wonder and of worship." The serpent, beginning with its tip end starts in a triple coil of the tail on the most marked elevation of the ridge and extends along down the lowering crest in beautiful folds, curving gracefully to right and left and swerving deftly over a depression in the center of his path and winding in easy and natural convolutions down the narrowing ledge with head and neck stretched out serpent-like and pointed to the west; the head is apparently turned upon its right side with the great mouth wide open, the extremities of the jaws, the upper or northern one being the longer, united by a concave bank immediately in front of which is a large oval or egg-shaped hollow eighty-six feet long and thirty feet wide at its greatest inside transverse, formed by the artificial embankment from two to three feet high and about twenty feet wide at its base. The head of the serpent across the point of union of the jaws is thirty feet wide, the jaws and connecting crescent are five feet high. The entire length of the serpent,

### SERPENT MOUND

On the bluff overlooking the valley of Brush Creek in Adams County. The largest "religious" symbolic earthen structure of the Mound Builders. The Mound in its entire length measures thirteen hundred and fifty feet. Reproduction of the drawing made by Professor F. W. Putnam of the Peabody Museum and first published in the *Century Magazine* for April, 1890.

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DERPENT MOND

the Century Magazine for April, 1890.  
 History of the Peabody Museum and first published in  
 the Century Magazine made by Professor F. W.  
 Robertson of the Peabody Museum and first published in  
 the Century Magazine for April, 1890.

the fact that he had jumped out of the situation in Ohio. Moreover this man was just such a man as the politicians man of

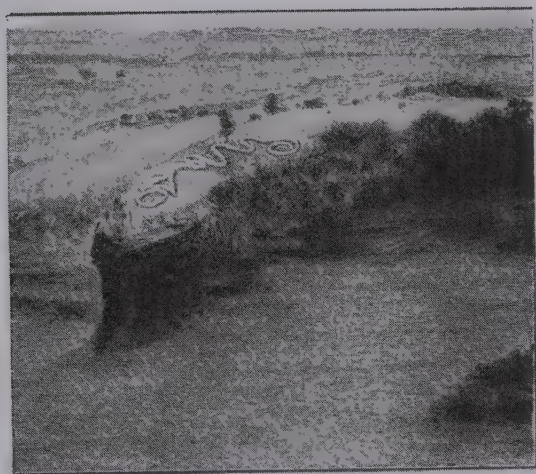
The screen begins with a title card that reads "The story of the life of the great man who lived in the great city of the great world." The screen begins with a title card that reads "The story of the life of the great man who lived in the great city of the great world."

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following the convolutions, is thirteen hundred and thirty-five feet. Its width at the largest portion of the body is twenty feet. At the tail the width is no more than three feet. Here the height is from three to four feet, which increases towards the center of the body to a height of five or six feet. Such is the size of the enormous earthen reptile as it has lain, basking in the suns or shivering in the snows of many centuries. The effect the sight of it produces, from close inspection or distant view, can scarcely be imagined or described. Professor Putnam, to whom is due the credit of the restoration and preservation of the mound, says, in the account of his first visit: "The graceful curves throughout the whole length of this singular effigy give it a strange life-like appearance; as if a huge serpent, slowly uncoiling itself and creeping silently and stealthily along the crest of the hill, was about to seize the oval within its extended jaws. Late in the afternoon, when the lights and shades are brought out in strong relief, the effect is indeed strange and weird; and this effect is heightened still more when the full moon lights up the scene and the stillness is broken by the 'whoo-whoo, hoo-hoo' of the unseen bird of night. Reclining on one of the huge folds of this gigantic serpent, as the last rays of the sun gleaming from the distant hill-tops, cast their long shadows over the valley, I mused on the probabilities of the past; and there seemed to come to me a picture as of a distant time, of a people with strange customs, and with it came the demand for an interpretation of this mystery. The unknown must become known."

Examinations into various sections of the serpent demonstrated that nothing was buried therein. The mound was ingeniously constructed in layers of different natural material; there being stone at the base covered with yellow clay, over which came a stratum of "dark soil" and then the final topping of sod.

We cannot go into any extended consideration of this fascinating and awe inspiring relic of the past. It is the teaching of ethnology that primitive man, in all races, first worshipped inanimate nature, the trees, rocks, sun and stars; then he advanced a stage and worshipped nature in her animate forms and of these the serpent was foremost, the "mysterious stranger in the grass, who overcame with honey words the fabled mother of us all, and, who to the astonished gaze of the primitive race, overcame by god-like power, man, as well as the strongest beast of the field."

While the explorer found in the serpent no secret of its age or purpose, much was revealed as to the Mound Builders in the small mounds and isolated sub-surface burials on the hill summit not far from the serpentine structure. Here Professor Putnam found inhumations, the most ancient of any discovered in Ohio, as proven by their relative placement in the strata of the various clays and subsequent coverings by other soils and vegetation deposits and layers, the formation of which must have been due to nature, the slow work of which required "centuries of time" to thus cast its coverings over the artificial work of ancient man.

Besides such testimony as that just given by Professor Putnam, the certainty that the works of the Ohio Mound Builders are very ancient is proven in



many ways. By the testimony of the primitive articles and implements found in the mounds and graves; by the testimony of the creeks and rivers in the changes of their courses—shifting of bed currents—since the mounds were built upon their banks, and by the great trees that have grown upon these mounds, some of them, as we have noted, being six hundred years old and in many cases second or third growths. Hence from archæological, chemical, geological and botanical testimony, scholars conclude these earthen works are at least hundreds of years old and perhaps thousands. They were unquestionably completed and abandoned before the Columbian discoveries of America. No European articles are found in any of the mounds, except where in some instances there are European “intrusions;” injections into the mound of historic burials, sometimes Indian interments with accompanying modern ornaments or implements.

And still the query arises who were the Mound Builders? And still the query is unsolved and insolvable. Until a generation ago the general opinion of the archæologists was that the Mound Builders were a distinct and separate race from the American Indian and that the skillful and ingenious architects of these earthen structures “fled the field” before the Indian appeared or possibly was driven out by the invading and conquering redmen.

The later, more thorough and scientific study of the mounds and their contents, have led the archæologists to revise their former theory and they now mainly agree that the Mound Builder was the ancestor or progenitor of the American Indian, the remoteness of

the relationship, however, being undetermined. The Indian progenitor theory is supported by the similarity of the artifacts found in the prehistoric mounds to the implements made by the historic Indian. But the reply to this undoubted resemblance is that the first products of the primitive man's handiwork are the same the world over. The peace and war stone implements exhumed by Schliemann from the ruins of Troy, cannot be distinguished, when placed side by side, from those found in the mounds of Ohio. Not a few writers in favor of the Indian theory point to the claim that certain Indian tribes were known to erect mounds and the Cherokees, Mandans and Natchez are especially cited. The chroniclers who accompanied De Soto in his journey (1540) from Florida to the Mississippi, noted that the Cherokees built mounds upon the summits of which they located their dwellings. The Mandans of the West are said to have lived in circular earth lodges, partly under ground, hence the appellation applied to them, "ground-house Indians." Likewise the Natchez, in the territory of the Lower Mississippi, "raised mounds of earth upon which to erect their dwellings and temples." Many scholars who have studied the innumerable effigy mounds of Wisconsin attribute those monuments, though their age is unknown, to the Winnebago tribe of Indians, whose eight clans had for their totems the bear, wolf, deer, elk, fish, snake, etc., though the totem figures are not the only ones reproduced in the earth structures. But whatever may be the inferences of relationship, between the Mound Builders and the Indians elsewhere, the Ohio mounds suggest meagre, if any, cultural simi-

larity to the Ohio Indians or the tribes of any other sections. Nor had the Ohio tribes any tradition, much less knowledge, of the builders of the mounds, that could throw any light upon the obscurity of the subject.

If this Indian theory be correct, it must be admitted that the American historic Indian, who was discovered by the invading European, must have been a degenerate and unworthy descendant of his distant forebear, the Mound Builder. "A broad chasm is to be spanned before we can link the Mound Builders to the North American Indians," says a leading scholar on the American races, for the American Indian, in his best historic periods, never displayed an architectural talent, an artistic ingenuity, or a trait of industry at all comparable to those characteristics so unquestionably the possession of the Mound Builder.

Volumes have been written upon the origin and racial identity of the Mound Builder. Arguments have been put forth to the effect that he was the lost tribes of Israel; that he came in the twilight of ancient history from Japan, China, and other Oriental race centers; that he was the lineal predecessor of the Toltecs; that he later emigrated from North to South America and displayed in those wonderful temples, the constructive powers he inherited from his mound building ancestors; reversely, that the Mound Builder was the descendant of the Toltecs and from Mexico ascended the Mississippi Valley and dotted that great basin and its tributary, the Ohio Valley, with his countless monuments of earth; again that he was the kin of the Aztecs, perhaps a branch of that warlike and art-loving people; again that the prehistoric American was the descendant



### TOSCANELLI'S MAP

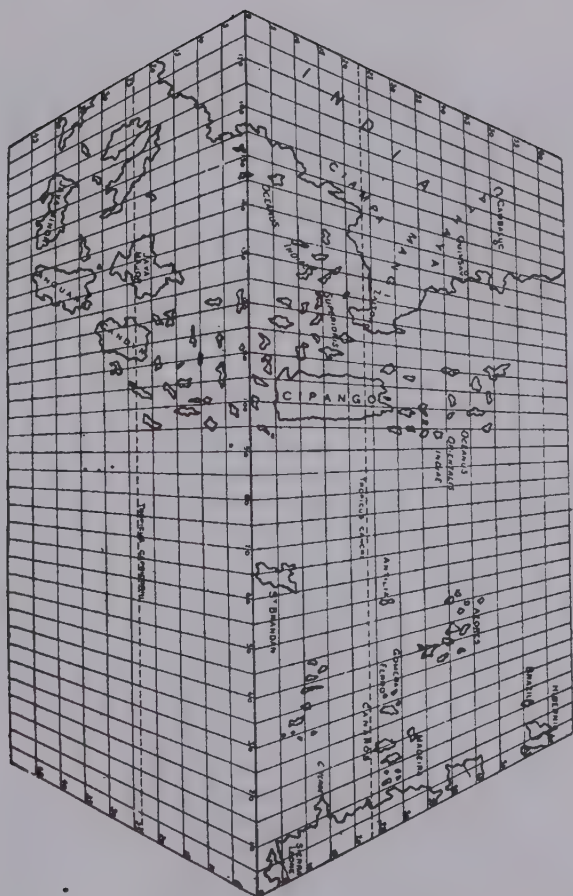
Map made by a great Florentine astronomer and sent to King Alphonse of Portugal in 1474. A copy was furnished Columbus before he sailed. It represents the idea then prevalent of the earth's surface.

From the "Discovery of America," by John Fisk, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Mass.

# TOSCANINI'S MAP

Map made by a great Florentine astronomer and sent to King Alfonso of Portugal in 1474. A copy was furnished Columbus before his voyage. It represents the then prevalent of the earth's surface.

From the "Discoveries of America" by J. H. P. Houghton, 1870, 2nd Edition, 1872.



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**I**N its historic beginning the territory now known as the State of Ohio belonged to Spain. This was by the right of discovery, supplemented by papal decree.

The latter half of the fifteenth and the earlier years of the sixteenth century comprised the great era of geographical discoveries by European nations. The hitherto unknown continents of the earth were being uncovered. The ancients regarded the world as a flat disk, encircled by the visible horizon. This was the "pancake" theory. The second theory was that it is a level parallelogram, longer east and west than north and south. This might be called the "floor" theory. This elongated "floor" was measured off each way sidewise and lengthwise by the geographers in terms of "latitude" and "longitude." Then developed slowly the globe theory—that the earth was a sphere. The "pancake" became an "apple" and the navigators of western Europe began to believe that by sailing west on the trackless waste of waters they could reach the lands of the Orient—Cathay and Cipango, as China and Japan were then designated.

In the fifteenth century Prince Henry of Portugal, called the Navigator, was the great patron of maritime discovery. Africa was only known a short way down its western shore and the existence of America was not even suspected. Prince Henry held the idea that Africa was a peninsula around the southern base of which the oceans of the east and west flowed together. This science-searching prince and enterprising royal patron did not live to see the realization of his belief, but during his life his bold sailors skirted along the coast of

Africa until they reached Cape Bojador. Rich lands were explored and negro natives were captured and imported as slaves to Portugal. Henry saw the possibilities of these explorations and patriotically and religiously wished his country and church to reap the exclusive benefit therefrom.

In order to secure this monopoly and bar out all possible competitors for the prospective "land grabs," Henry applied to the supreme authority of earth and omnipotent arbiter of all nations, Christian and heathen, the Papal Pontiff, for a "concession in perpetuity" to the crown of Portugal of whatever lands might be discovered along the ocean pathway even to the East Indies. The Primate of the Church, Martin V, foresaw the advantages forthcoming to the Papal See as well as to the Portuguese Kingdom, and the concession was granted. This patent was affirmed by subsequent Popes. The sailors of Portugal pushed on across the equator and down the coast, until, in 1497, the dauntless Vasca da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope and cast anchor in the harbor of Calcutta.

Meanwhile there were momentous doings in other directions. The king and queen of Arragon and Castile resolved to test the dream of Columbus, and the son of Italy became the protégé of Spain. On the sphere theory, he sailed due west and "stumbled" upon the West Indies, the islands of the new world, mistaking them for the India of the east. It was the memorable year 1492.

On the return of Columbus and his report to Ferdinand and Isabella of his perilous voyage and marvelous discoveries, those sagacious and pious sovereigns

alike zealous for their country and loyal to the Holy Father, without delay dispatched an ambassador to Rome to secure a "concession" that would confirm to them exclusive and undisputed possession of all western discoveries. The Pope, the famous Alexander VI, himself a Spaniard, willingly granted the request, issuing—May, 1493—first a bull of concession, and then a remarkable pronunciamento establishing the "Line of Demarcation" which was to determine and adjust any conflicting claims that might arise between Spain and Portugal.

It was Alexander the Great who conquered the world—all that he could find of it—but it was left to Alexander Borgia, the Pope, to divide the world and give away the halves. In this demarcation decree the Pope, as he asserts in the document itself, by authority of Almighty God granted him in St. Peter and by the office which he bore on earth in the stead of Jesus Christ, did give, grant and assign to the Spanish rulers and their heirs and assigns all firm lands and islands found or to be found toward the West and South, from a line drawn from the Pole Arctic to the Pole Antarctic through the Cape Verde Islands.

This decree, one of the most remarkable documents in history, ceded to Spain practically the whole of the Western Hemisphere. Portugal was dissatisfied with the decision of the papal umpire and by mutual agreement of all parties the meridian line of division was shifted to a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This readjustment gave Brazil to Portugal but left the rest of

South America and all of North America to Spain, while Portugal got Africa and all beyond to the far East.

In effect then the successor of St. Peter signed, sealed and delivered to the rulers of Spain and Portugal, blank deeds to all unknown parts of the globe and permitted those privileged grantees to write in the descriptions—of the lands which they might discover—at their pleasure. But that we may clearly understand the bearing of this papal ultimatum on subsequent events, it should be noted that it gave the lands as donated and divided except—thus reads the bond—“such as have not actually been heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince.” The sweeping privilege of future title left the countries already owned by “Christian” powers undisturbed. It applied merely to lands and islands uninhabited or occupied by the heathen, pagan, infidel or unbaptised—those without the pale of the church. These benighted people had no rights the Christian discoverer was bound to respect. Such human beings as the Indians of America and Negroes of Africa were treated as mere phases of property that ran with the land like the fruits of the field and the ores of the mines. The papal devotees were simply taking territory that belonged to “no one.” It was what the ancient Romans called *res nullius*—property of no one—and the right of discovery is founded on the principle that what belongs to no one may be appropriated by the first finder. Spain and Portugal were alone to have the privilege of hunting and finding.

And now there begins the mad rush to discover new lands. Portugal's adventurers do not interest us, but Spain claims our closest attention. The decretal of demarcation was followed in rapid succession by the voyages of Columbus, Americus Vesputius and other Spanish navigators who touched the shores of the North and South Americas. It was a period of daring and romantic expeditions and explorations. Spain was the aggressive and ambitious nation on the scene of action. The resplendent Charles V. was on the Spanish throne, the most powerful potentate in Europe or the world. His sailors and soldiers conquered Mexico and South America, and his subject, Ponce de Leon, in search of the "fountain of perpetual youth," found the shores of Florida.

A quarter of a century later, under the orders of Emperor Charles, De Soto, whose exploits in the conquest of Peru had given him fame and fortune, landed in the country of fruits and flowers at Tampa Bay. He was the first to penetrate the interior. It was like a Medieval Crusade. De Soto commanded some eight hundred Spanish soldiers, many of them nobles and gentlemen, part of them mounted. They were equipped with clumsy arquebuses, burnished cuirasses, gleaming helmets and flashing halberds. At the start it was a spectacular and gorgeous pageant, "the clangor of trumpets, the neighing of horses, the flutter of pennons, the glitter of helmet and lance startled the ancient forest with unwonted greeting."

Thus went forth Spain to possess North America—snail-like these imperial invaders, scarcely knowing whither they went, pushed their way amid the tangled

thickets and forest fastnesses, north through Florida and the Carolinas, to the foot of the Blue Ridge mountains; thence returning down the Alabama River; again moving north, crossing the Mississippi at Chickasaw Bluff, and finally returning southward through what is now Arkansas and Louisiana to the mouth of the Red River. At almost every step the Indians fought the progress of the armed and warring marauders, for the plumed and sabred Spaniards were supplied with blood-hounds, iron neck collars and chains for the captives, while the accompanying monks in sacerdotal robes carried "images of the Virgin, holy relics and sacramental bread and wine wherewith to make Christians of the captured pagans." In the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks with their bows, flinted arrows and war clubs, the armored cavaliers met foemen worthy of their steel. There are few scenes in history comparable to this campaign of De Soto. For three years he wandered through the wilderness where the foot of white man had never trod before. The ruthless invaders encountered untold deprivations, hardships and exposures, the recital of which is more strange and fascinating than the tales with which the swarthy Moor beguiled the "greedy ear" of the fair Desdemona. De Soto was the victim of his own rash courage and was buried in the bed of the great river, "The Father of Waters," which he was the first white man to discover. Less than half the members who started with him, survived the ravages of disease and the attacks of the savages, and a company of sickly and starving men, clad in rags and skins, found their way back to the Spanish settlement.



Thus by the middle of the sixteenth century the intrepid explorers of Spain had visited and claimed for their country a territory in the northern continent of the new world greater in extent than the whole of Europe. There were other numerous Spanish explorations both of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and into the inland. They extended through the century just mentioned until discovery and papal decree would seem to have given Spain safe title to North America. But did either of those authorities or both together give Spain restrictive possession of the lands she claimed? We will see. Naturally the discoveries of the Spanish mariners attracted the attention, and then the competition of other nations. The Briton, ever at home on the sea, sprang to his boats. Henry VII, the first Tudor King, who as the Duke of Richmond had unhorsed the bloody Richard and won the crown on the field of Bosworth, though a good Catholic, defied the papal patent and commissioned the Cabots, father and sons, to fit out ships and sail for new empires in the westward.

For the glory of England and the profit of its King, the Cabots made various voyages across the Atlantic, making landfalls at Labrador, Newfoundland and the Southern mainland, which latter they reconnoitered, it is claimed, as far south as the Carolinas. This was the initial recorded discovery of the North American continent, the Norse narratives not being regarded as official. Cabot stood on the northern continent at almost the exact date that Columbus, in his third voyage, first set foot on the shore of the southern continent. Some authorities state that the two landings were

within three days of each other, a neck and neck race between Spain and England, the Latin and the Teuton, for the first "touchdown" in the game for the western world. In each case the discoverer had no idea he was on a new continent, but each supposed he had reached Cathay on the opposite side of the globe.

Both Cabot and Columbus died without having learned the true results of their voyages. Neither ever knew what a hit he had made. The Cabots reported to King Henry that they found an abundance of fish but no gold in the new country. Henry demanded something more substantial than fish stories, even if true, as returns for the expeditions of the Cabots. He therefore dropped the discovery project as a non-paying investment, and it was nearly a century before his successors resumed American prospecting. But the English Kings never conceded the all-pervading claims of Spain and Portugal, based as they were on the grant of the Roman Pontiff. Henry VII and his successors recognized the discoveries by other countries only so far as those claims were made good by actual occupancy of the land discovered. This principle will be met with later in our narrative.

The immediate and potent competitor of Spain was France. Francis I wrote his great rival, Charles V, saucily asking by what right the Kings of Portugal and Spain assumed to "own the earth;" Had father Adam made them his sole heirs and could he produce a copy of the will? Until such a will could be shown, the French monarch declared he would feel at liberty to sail around and take all the soil he could get, and with this liberal idea he set forth in the discovery enterprise.



It was only five or six years after the last voyage of Columbus that an enterprising French voyager, Denis of Honfleur explored the fishing fields off Newfoundland. Less than twenty years later Verrazzano, an Italian "sailor bold" under the auspices of Francis I, coasted the Eastern shores of North America as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. From now on the French expeditions were persistent and continuous. Almost at the very time that De Soto was exploring the country of the Mississippi, south of the Ohio, Jacques Cartier, a brave French buccaneer, was sailing up the broad river he named St. Lawrence, as far as Montreal, then an Indian town known as Hochelaga, and he formally took possession of the country in the name of France. Cartier wintered at the site of Quebec, or Stadacona, as the Indians called the headquarters of their Iroquois chief, Donnacona. Cartier called the country "Canada," that being, it is claimed, the name applied by the Iroquois Indians to a village and the surrounding region. The Iroquois inhabited the upper basin of the St. Lawrence at the time of its exploration by Cartier.

By 1541 the French explorers and claimants had so assumed possession of the country of the St. Lawrence that they named it New France and their King, Francis I, created Sieur de Roberval its viceroy and Jacques Cartier its captain-general. These officials with a little fleet loaded with emigrants sailed for the new empire with the purpose of establishing a colony. But the time and circumstances were not propitious. It was abandoned and beyond straggling voyages and unsuccessful attempts at colonization in the Carolinas,

the endeavors of the French to get a foothold in America were futile until the chivalrous Samuel de Champlain, an experienced sailor, diplomat and soldier, appears upon the scene. The King of France made Champlain Lieutenant-general of Canada. France had now come to stay.

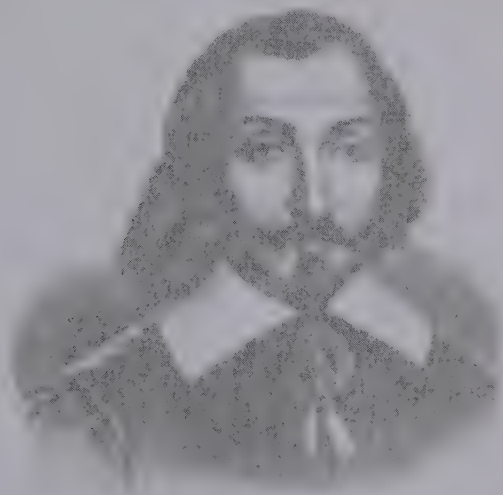
Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence and wisely chose the site of Stadacona as the seat of the proposed French province. It was on the rocky cliffs overlooking the broad and majestic river. He called the place Quebec, pronounced by the Indians, Kebec, meaning "the Narrows." It was in 1608 that the quaint city was founded which was to play so conspicuous a part in the history of our country; it was truly a city founded on a rock and Champlain no doubt believed the citadel of his nation there established would survive the storms of war and shock of siege and be the impregnable Gibraltar of Gallic power in America.

But another nation and race had entered the contest. It was the Anglo-Saxon—the English. A century had passed since the Cabots effected landfalls on the shores of Labrador. The British monarchs all this while were too busy with home affairs and royal antagonists across the channel to bother with experimental excursions to uncertain quarters in distant America. But the trans-oceanic exploits of Spain and France roused the envy and emulation of England. Elizabeth was on the throne. This illustrious maiden queen was no idle dreamer, but the strenuous doer of things great. She loved power and she knew how to wield it to a purpose. Her reign was the renaissance of England. The Elizabethan Era was renowned for its flourish of

### SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

The intrepid French explorer and discoverer who ascended the St. Lawrence and in 1608 founded the city of Quebec, the first permanent French settlement in North America.

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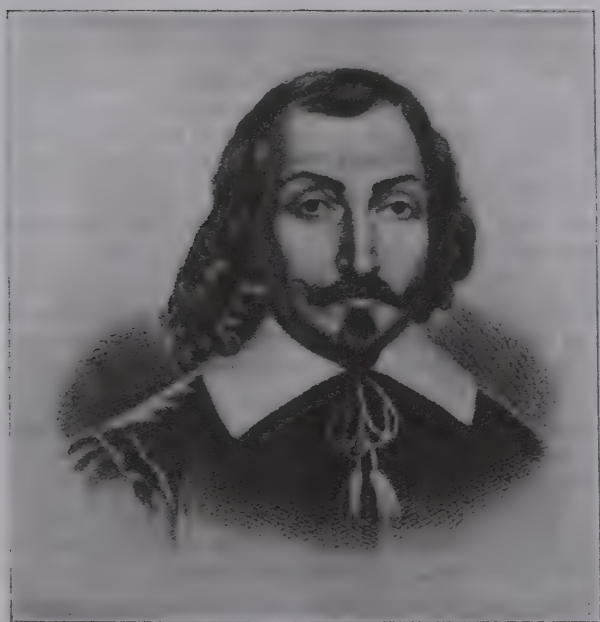


## THE RISE AND PROGRESS

Champlain, a French explorer and discoverer who founded the city of St. Lawrence and in 1608 founded the city of Quebec, the first permanent French settlement in North America. Champlain, a French explorer and discoverer who founded the city of St. Lawrence and in 1608 founded the city of Quebec, the first permanent French settlement in North America. Champlain, a French explorer and discoverer who founded the city of St. Lawrence and in 1608 founded the city of Quebec, the first permanent French settlement in North America.

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literature, its religious agitation and its supremacy on the sea. The Spaniard in his aggressive adventures and ambitious voyages found his match in the daughter of the Tudors. The Spanish sovereign, Phillip, the Cruel, resolved to crush the rising power of the Anglo Saxons. He assembled one hundred and thirty ships, carrying thirty thousand men and three thousand heavy guns, the greatest navy of the century. It was the Armada and its commander proposed landing his forces on the little island and subduing England as Caesar had done sixteen centuries before. But the bravery of the Briton seaman and the storm that Neptune timely brought to their aid drove the Dons of Spain to overwhelming defeat. The Spanish ships were shattered and sunk and the fleet called Invincible was no more. A few scattering ships bore home the tale of irretrievable disaster and everlasting dishonor to the proud banner of Arragon and Castile. England was indeed mistress of the sea. No longer did she fear Spain.

The next great power with whom England had to reckon was France. That reckoning was to be not only on the battle fields of Europe but on the Heights of Abraham, the Plains of New York, and the Banks of the Ohio. Under the energetic Elizabeth, corporations of various kinds for trade and commerce became numerous. The Atlantic was no longer a dangerous or serious obstacle to colonizing schemes.

Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the most chivalrous figures in English history, obtained a royal patent investing him with "ample powers to colonize and govern any territories he might acquire in the unoccupied parts

of North America." Under such sweeping authority, Raleigh was the promoter of emigrating parties to the Carolina coast. Two efforts were made at settlement on the Island of Roanoke. The settlements were short lived but the returning survivors carried to England the alluring report that America meant commercial opportunity. Raleigh's failures were the immediate prelude to events prodigious in American history. It was under Elizabeth's successor, James, "the wisest fool in Europe," that the English found permanent foothold in the New World. Enterprising English merchants formed a syndicate and secured letters patent from the crown by which was granted to them all the territory on the American coast between the 34th and 45th degrees latitude, north, or from Cape Fear to Halifax. This entire domain was known as Virginia. The patents required that two companies be formed to explore and develop this territory. One of these corporations was the London Company, its extent being from degrees 24 to 41, latitude north, and extending "up with the land from sea to sea." The other company was known as the Plymouth Company; its stretch of land reaching from 38 to 45 degrees latitude, and likewise west from "sea to sea." It is to be noted that dividing lines between these companies overlapped. This led to complications not necessary here to discuss. The local government of each colony was to be conducted by a council dwelling therein but nominated by the king; while general supervision was to be exercised by the company's directors resident in England.



The London Company was the first on the ground to effect a settlement. A little fleet of three ships carrying a hundred or more "gentlemen, merchants and adventurers," including the chivalric captain John Smith, entered Chesapeake Bay, steered up the river they named James, after their king, until finding a favorable site they made landing on the river bank and founded Jamestown. It was the planting of the Anglo-Saxon stock in America. This was in the Spring of 1607, just one year before Champlain sowed the seeds of the Fleur de Lis on the rocky and barren cliff of Quebec. These two specks of colonies, the Teuton and the Latin, hundreds of miles—nearly a thousand—apart were the *avant couruers* of streams of settlers that were in due time to engage in a life and death grapple. Fiske at this point thus reflects: "between the beginning and the end of this well-rounded tale a mighty drama is wrought out in all its themes. The struggle between France and England for the soil of North America was one of the great critical movements in the career of mankind—no less important than the struggle between Greece and Persia, or between Rome and Carthage. Out of the long and complicated interaction between Roman and Teutonic institutions which made up the history of the Middle Ages, two strongly contrasted forms of political society had grown up and acquired aggressive strength when in the course of the Sixteenth Century a new world beyond the sea was laid open for colonization."

Upon his settlement at Quebec, Champlain established friendly relations with his nearest Indian neighbors on the St. Lawrence, the Montagnais, and with

the more distant Hurons on the west and the Algonquins on the east. The year following his arrival (1609), with five or six of his own soldiers and a band of some fifty Indians from the tribes above named, in a little flotilla of twenty-four canoes, the French explorer ascended the Richelieu River to the placid and picturesque lake which has ever since borne his name, Champlain. Historic waters;

“What cheers of triumph in thy echoes sleep!  
Where brave blood dyed thy wave!  
A grass-grown rampart crowns each rugged steep  
Each isle a hero's grave.”

On the forest-fringed and mountain-flanked shores of this lake, Champlain met a force of some three hundred Iroquois warriors of the Mohawk tribe. The Iroquois were fierce fighters. They carried shields of hide-covered wood and wrapped their bodies in crude corslets of tough interwoven twigs. With such rude armor they regarded themselves immune to the arrows of the enemy and they marched defiantly to the attack. Imagine their surprise and terror when the French leader and his arquebus-armed soldiers opened fire upon the advancing savages. Two of their chiefs fell dead and a third lay wounded. They had never before encountered fire arms. The flash and crash of the discharge of the crude musketry seemed to the Iroquois naught else than the lightning and thunder of the Great Spirit. Panic stricken they fled in dismay.

Such was the warlike overture to the tragic drama, prolonged to be in its enactment, between the savagery of the New World and the civilization of the Old. The

echoes of that petty conflict, between a squad of French and their three score Indian allies with three hundred Mohawk braves frightened into precipitate flight, quickly died away amid the depths of the thick forests. But the memory of that event was never effaced from the minds of the outraged Mohawks. From the moment of that repulse the haughty and fearless Iroquois became the implacable foe of the French, and that enmity largely shaped the course of New France in the New World.

As the Iroquois will often cross the path of our story, it is pertinent that we learn who and what they were. The term "Iroquois," applied to the tribes of which we speak, is of doubtful origin. It was employed by the French, who supposedly coined it from the Indian word "Hiro"—meaning "I have spoken," a phrase with which the orators always closed their speeches—as the Romans used to say "Dixi"—"I have said"—and the exclamation "Koué"—expressive of joy or approval if curtly pronounced, and designating sorrow or dissent when slowly accented. Hence "Hiro-koué" or Iroquois.

These tribes, or some of them, lay along the upper St. Lawrence before the advent of the European. As we saw, Cartier found them on the sites of Quebec and Montreal. Between the voyages of Cartier and Champlain, wars with the Hurons on the west and with the Adirondacks and other Algonquin tribes on the east, resulted in the expulsion of the Iroquois from their Canadian country. The Iroquois moved south to the northern part of New York, a land well suited for their habitation, because so abounding in lakes and rivers.

Indian legend casts its spell over the origin of their famous league. The legend of the Iroquois is that after their departure from the Canadian country, Tarenyawagon, "the holder of the heavens," descended upon earth and became a demigod chief called Hiawatha, the worker of wonders and the speaker of wisdom. This is the Hiawatha immortalized in verse by Longfellow, who, however, with poetic license, transferred the great chief to the Ojibway tribe and located the scenes of his action in the northwest on the shores of Lake Superior.

Hiawatha saw the weakened power and humbled pride of his Iroquois people:

"I am weary of your quarrels,  
Weary of your wars and bloodshed,  
Weary of your prayers for vengeance,  
Of your wranglings and dissensions.  
All your strength is in your union,  
All your danger is in discord;  
Therefore be at peace henceforward,  
And as brothers live together."

Hiawatha chose for each of the five tribes, the place for its home and instructed them in all knowledge of peace and war, and planned for them the mighty confederation that was to make them the conquerors of all other tribes. His message delivered, and his mission accomplished, Hiawatha was borne aloft in a mystic snow-white canoe and disappeared amid the summer clouds.

The Iroquois implicitly obeyed the injunctions of their revered Hiawatha. When found by the hostile French from the North, and the friendly Dutch from

### IROQUOIS LONG HOUSE

Interior section of an Iroquois Long House, occupied in common by several Indian families.



PROLOGUE LONG HOUSE

Interior section of an Indian Long House  
common in several Indian houses

Interior section of an Indian Long House  
common in several Indian houses

Interior section of an Indian Long House

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Interior section of an Indian Long House  
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the South, the Five Nations had formed a great chain of tribal settlements in the valleys and uplands, along the threaded string of lakes that stretched across the country from the eastern end of the waters of Erie to the banks of the Hudson and the shores of Champlain. They called the confederation Kanonsionni, Agoneaseah, Hondenosaunee, and other Indian synonyms according to the tribal dialect employed, but meaning in each case the "Long House," for the typical abode of the Iroquois was an oblong lodge, the frame of which was formed of upright stakes, with cross pieces above to support the roof; the sides were encased and the top covered with strips of bark. The plan of this hut was similar to that of a Pullman car. In shape it was an elongated dwelling, divided by transverse partitions into a row of sections on each side; each section was occupied by one family. The entrance was exclusively at each end of the hut, through which ran a long open passage way, into which each family section opened without seclusion save by a curtain of deer or bear skin suspended from the ceiling. Around the three wall-sides of each compartment were bunks for seats and beds. Each group of four families used in common one fire pit built in the center of the open hallway. To a certain extent therefore this scheme was an aboriginal experiment in coöperative housekeeping. A structure so built was readily extended at either end so as to admit additional families.

The Confederacy of the Five Nations, with their continuous line of villages and settlements, was therefore in theory the national "Long House."

The western door of this Long House, southwest of Niagara Falls, was protected by the populous towns of the Senecas, the "tribe of the granite rock," located on and about Lakes Seneca and Canandaigua; in succession, extending east, came the tribes: Cayuga, centered on the lake bearing that name; the Onondaga, "men of the mountains," on the lake and river named from the tribe; Oneida, on the lake and river that perpetuate their memory. The eastern door of the Long House was guarded by the warrior Mohawks, on the Mohawk River and covering lakes George and Champlain. This firmly welded league covered a territory some three hundred and twenty miles in length and from eighty to one hundred and twenty in width. The Onondagas owing to centrality of their location, and no doubt also to their previous prominence in leadership, were honored by having their principal town, called Onondaga, made the capital of the Confederacy. Here dwelt the "fire-keepers" of the Long House. Here was the Grand Council Chamber—the assembly seat of the tribal representatives. Here were stored the national wampum belts and records of the treaties. Here met, when summoned, the fifty brave chiefs and wise sachems of the Five Tribes to plan for the war-path or to conclude a treaty, and here, at times, were considered overtures of alliance from the two great powers of Europe—France and England—"whose statesmen waited not without anxiety, for the decision of this council of American Savages."

Each of the constituent tribes retained intact its independent government and subdivisions of eight clans each, the clans being known by the name of the animal

which the clan totem or emblem represented, viz., the Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Deer, Beaver, Hawk, Crane and Snipe. But the tribe confederation continued indissoluble for over two centuries—from before the invasion of Champlain to the early years of the American Revolution.

Such in brief was the interesting and incomparable confederacy of the Iroquois. At the time when it first came in conflict with the French, it numbered, perhaps, sixteen thousand people, with a fighting force of less than four thousand warriors. Probably at no period of its history was it stronger in number. But in practical system of tribal discipline; in statesman-like co-operation; in sagacity for diplomacy; in far-reaching policies of offense and defense; in crafty and cruel methods of warfare; in swiftness of action and powers of endurance, the Iroquois were unequalled among other separate tribes or tribal unions. With a boastfulness which their deeds made good, they called themselves "Ongwe-Honwe"—"the men surpassing all others." They were most skillful in the construction of canoes, either from the trunk or bark of trees, and most dexterous in propelling and guiding their water crafts over the lakes or upon the rivers. Their habitation on the inland lakes habituated them to water travel and the territory they commanded was a strategic one, for they touched the waterways of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Hudson and the Ohio. Their sad experience with the French taught the Iroquois the use and value of "spit-fire-sticks" as they styled the weapons that made such havoc in their ranks. They secured that requirement through their

friendliness for the Dutch, their neighbors on the south, who equipped the savages with fire arms. Thereafter warfare with the whites was on a more equal footing. By land, lake, and river the prowess of the Iroquois penetrated in all directions and their war parties roamed from the Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Maine Mountains to the banks of the Mississippi—conquering, devastating, or annihilating wherever they went. They became the Huns of Indian History. We shall witness more or less of their conquering career. Certain it is that the Iroquois power created a barrier to the progress of the French inland south of the St. Lawrence and west of the Hudson. Champlain, his associates and successors therefore, for prudential as well as geographical reasons, in the extension of the French empire, proceeded west along the great water ways, to them the line of least resistance. These western voyages of the mere adventurers, the daring explorers, the intrepid fur traders, and the undaunted missionaries fill volumes of rich romance and thrilling narrative.

Conquest, commerce and religion were equal motives that impelled the French to push on along winding rivers, tempestuous lakes and through trackless forests. Among other objects of quest was the discovery of a northwest passage to the Pacific, thereby supposedly opening a short cut to the coveted China. Champlain went up the St. Lawrence as far as the Ontario Lake but as the Iroquois commanded its shores, he changed his course and ascended the Ottawa to Lake Nipissing and thence down the French River across Georgian Bay on to the wild waters of Lake Huron which he at

first mistook for the Pacific. He returned by way of Lake Simcoe and the connecting rivers and portages to the head of the St. Lawrence. From that time on the boundless and unknown Northwest, embracing the great inland seas, was the vast field for innumerable voyagers. The merchants and the missionaries vied with each other in their indefatigable efforts to penetrate every nook and corner of the undiscovered country and establish therein trading posts and proselyting stations.

The Canadian fur trade had been made a monopoly by being confined to companies organized and chartered in France; companies forming a corporation "trust" and none but those holding stock or being properly authorized could buy and sell in peltries. This "closed shop" policy of the monopolists produced a large class of romantic rovers, called *coureurs de bois*, wood rangers, bush whackers, who wandered far and wide through the forests, conducting illegal traffic with the tribes. The first one of these according to the records was Etienne Brulé. He set the example of adopting the Indian mode of life in order to ingratiate himself into the favor and confidence of the tribesmen. He was a trader and woods ranger on his own account and became a famous interpreter and ambassador among the Indians for Champlain and his French countrymen. His wanderings were extraordinary, extending to the Chesapeake Bay, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.

Champlain, possessed of religious zeal as well as adventurous ambition a few years after his settlement on the St. Lawrence, had invited the Recollects,



Champlain's most renowned companion and successor as an explorer was Jean Nicolet, who spent many years traversing the Great Lakes. He learned the Indian languages and became so accustomed to the wild life of the woods that he was often designated "a demisavage." He visited the Far West in the years 1634-1640. In a birch bark canoe, tossed like a chip on the crest of the waves, he crossed Lake Huron and entered the St. Mary's River and he bears the reputation of being the first European to stand at the strait of Sault St. Marie. He paddled about Lake Michigan and into Green Bay, upon the shores of which, just below the mouth of Fox River, he landed, in great pomp and splendor, in order to overawe the Indians of the Winnebago and other tribes, who, to the number of four or five thousand, assembled to receive the wonderful white man, his approach having been heralded days before. Nicolet had attired himself in a "grand robe of China Damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors," for he had gone prepared to be welcomed by the people of the Celestial kingdom, whose country he sought through the north west passage. The wily Nicolet still further added to the éclat of his arrival by holding aloft a pair of pistols from which he discharged blank cartridges. Finally, with all the bravado of a hero in a melodrama, he gravely seated himself in a regal seat provided for him. It certainly was a French vaudeville in the Wild West. But his performance accomplished its purpose and his savage lookers-on were duly impressed. They had not the temerity to do other than hospitably receive and entertain a personage so extraordinary and grandiose.

Nicolet's dazzling methods and shrewd diplomacy won many tribes to the fealty of France and a few years later the Jesuit priests celebrated mass, amid solemn services at the Sault St. Marie in the presence of two thousand naked savages.



CHAPTER V.

LA SALLE DISCOVERS THE OHIO



**W**HILE the French explorers and missionaries were venturing on toward what they supposed would be the verge of the continent and were attracting the friendly attention of the astonished natives with spectacular ceremonies, a dreadful tragedy was being enacted in the Huron country. This was the western portion of the peninsula between Lakes Huron and Ontario. It was the dwelling-land of the Hurons, equally known as the Wyandots. They were the old-time enemies of the Iroquois. A small nation, the allies and kindred of the Hurons, were the Petuns, commonly called the Tobacco Tribe, because of their custom of cultivating the nicotian leaf, which they bartered extensively with other tribes. This tribe immediately adjoined the Wyandots on the southwest. Next to the Petuns and east of the Hurons, on the northeastern end of Lake Erie and along the roaring gorge of the Niagara River lived the Neuter Nation, so called because they sought to remain passive in the war between the Iroquois and the Hurons.

In the year 1649—"in the dead of winter"—the Iroquois warriors invaded the Huron territory and with the fury of a hurricane swept down upon their towns:

"In their faces stern defiance,  
In their hearts the feuds of ages,  
The hereditary hatred,  
The ancestral threat of vengeance."

The Iroquois burned the palisades and huts of the Hurons, destroying some fifteen villages and slaughtering the inhabitants with indescribable cruelty. Many of the Hurons were carried off as captives, numerous

bands who could escape, fled to the islands of Lake Huron and to the regions of Lakes Michigan and Superior, some of them finding refuge with tribes as distant as the Sioux, the Ottawas, the Iowas, and the Winnebagoes. Not a few sought and received protection in the French Canadian settlements. It was literally the dispersion of a nation, and the Hurons were thereafter wanderers on the face of the earth. A few years later the Tobacco tribe and the Neuter Nation met the fate of the Wyandots. The destruction of these three tribes by the Iroquois was complete, and the conquering Five Nations then commanded Canada north of Lake Erie.

Drunk with human blood and frenzied by their victories in the north, the irresistible Iroquois now turned fiercely upon their next door neighbors and hitherto friends, the Erigas or Eries, styled by the French the Cat Nation—Nation du Chat—from the custom the Eries had of wearing the skin of a species of panther or wildcat, an animal about the size of a fox that frequented the land of the Eries. The early Jesuit *Relations* speak of the Eries as the Riquehronnons. The territory of this tribe lay immediately south of Lake Erie and extended from the Genesee River—the frontier of the Five Nations—across the northern portion of Ohio to the Miami River on the west. How far south their settlements reached is not definitely known, but probably more or less sparsely to the Ohio River. This Erie country, the *Relations* report, was a land of “unusual fertility with a climate neither too cold nor too warm.” The history of this nation, previous to their being found in the location

just designated, is involved in obscurity. The first glimpse we get of the Eries, indeed about all we learn of them, is from the Jesuits, who seem to have had no mission among the Eries but concerning whom they obtained their information from the Iroquois. As Champlain himself relates, the Eries were visited by the famous Brulé in the summer of 1615. This visit was for the purpose of getting the Eries to aid the French against the Iroquois. In this journey, it is claimed, Brulé landed on the southern shore of Lake Erie and if so was probably the first white man to stand upon the soil of Ohio.

The Eries doubtless came into northern Ohio from the west, being driven thither by their victorious enemies. The Eries were a populous and brave tribe. They had many permanent and strongly protected towns and villages, sheltering perhaps fifteen thousand people and mustering, according to the Jesuits, as reported by the Iroquois—who would be very likely however, in this case, to exaggerate—a force of four thousand warriors. At any rate the Eries were peculiarly skilled with the bow and arrow and were known as “far-famed archers” who fought like the wildcats from which they were named. The Senecas whose territory the Eries touched and with whom they had been on friendly terms, smoked the pipe of peace with the Eries while the other four tribes of the Five Nations were stealthily preparing for war. This was an oft-played act of treacherous diplomacy on the part of the Iroquois.

It was in 1655 that the Iroquois invaded the land of the Eries. It was a war to the knife, as briefly told

in the *Relations*. As near as may be inferred from the meagre record of the Jesuits, the Iroquois embarked in canoes on Lake Erie and upon their landing,—presumably near site of Erie, Pa.—the Eries,—those who were directly engaged in the strife,—retreated into the interior forests and finally took a stand in their chief town called Riqué, “at the place of the panther,” which was fortified by palisades of felled trees. It was a desperate and bloody siege. The Iroquois had the advantage in having firearms but the Eries could discharge six or seven volleys of poisoned arrows upon the assaulters before the latter could reload and fire again. The Iroquois lifted their canoes bottom up over their heads and shoulders, thus using them as shields to protect them from the continuous shower of poisoned darts. Finally the besiegers, thus run the *Relations*, planted their canoes on end against the palisades, mounted the cross bars like ladders, scaled the tree-made barricades and overpowered the brave defenders. The butchery was frightful, and the brutality of the victors is too awful to relate. The pitiless Iroquois “wrought such carnage among women and children, the blood ran knee-deep in certain places.” Squaws and papooses were slaughtered by the hundred with fiendish ingenuity and delight. The vanquished Eries fled south and west, large numbers of them were absorbed in the tribes of the conquerors. Indeed it was the policy of the Five Nations to replenish their losses in war by merging into their tribes the young braves captured from the enemy.

It was the absolute destruction of the Eries, who, says one author, “melted away like a dream,” for

the Cat Nation no longer appears as such in Indian history, and "no memorial of their race exists save the lake which bears their name." A brilliant historical writer on Indian lore closes a lecture before the Buffalo Historical Society with this quotation touching the disappearance of the Eries:

"Ye say they have all passed away,  
That noble race and brave,  
That their light canoes have vanished  
From off the crested wave.  
That mid the forests where they roamed  
There rings no hunter's shout,  
But their name is on our waters,  
And ye may not wash it out."

The unchecked power of the Long House now practically encircled Lake Erie. This Erie-Iroquois warfare is, so far as we have been able to learn, the first historic incident of importance occurring within the subsequent confines of our State. The event is at least our introduction to the Indian contest for supremacy in the Ohio country. Thus the great nations, the Hurons, Neuters, and Eries, not reckoning the Tobacco Tribe, had been annihilated. Three of the great nations named had a population estimated to be equal to that of the Iroquois, and the six nations destroyed by the Long House in the space of six years numbered in all not less than sixty thousand people. But it must be remembered these so-called "nations" were in reality nothing more than mere aggregations of villages and scattered families with no authorized controlling government or power. They were purely voluntary associations influenced or directed by the more or less self-constituted chiefs or leaders. We

shall speak further of this later on. The Iroquois therefore had an overwhelming advantage in their perfected and perpetuated organization and sagacious leadership. Their warfare was a science against which their enemies struggled without system or premeditation.

Directly south of the Long House lay the Andastes or Conestogas. They comprised several small tribes on and near the Susquehanna, which name is also applied to them. The Andastes were along the valleys of the Allegheny and upper Ohio. The Cat Nation dispersed, the Iroquois turned their arms against the Andastes but the latter were scattered and almost unconquerable. They kept up a brave resistance for many years and it was not until 1672 that their destruction was consummated.

We cannot follow the conquering career of the Iroquois, fascinating as the subject certainly would prove to be. Merely may we mention *en passant* that while they were successfully warring with the Hurons on the northwest, the Eries on the west, and the Andastes on the south, they were, in the decade 1662-72, likewise, carrying their victorious arms to the northeast, compelling the Adirondacks to make ignominious terms of peace and so intimidating them that the latter ever after refrained from entering the territory of the Iroquois.

During this same period the restless people of the Long House invaded the New England colonies and made war on the tribes of the Massachusetts, Pawtuckets, Pennacooks, Kennebecks, Pokomtakukes, Quabaugs, Nipmucks and Nashaways. This war broke



up many of the settlements of the tribes named and the retreating tribesmen were compelled to fall back upon the borders of the English plantations and seek protection from the colonists.

Amid these wars among the tribes, the French fur traders and explorers and the Jesuits were undaunted. With tireless energy and fearless persistency they continued their perilous journeyings to the northwest, by way of the Ottawa River. With reluctance we pass over the recitals of these notable accounts, so thrillingly told at first hand in the Jesuit *Relations*, so faithfully summarized in Shea's "History of the Catholic Missions," and so graphically portrayed by the brilliant pen of Parkman.

The time had come for a grand play and Talon, the Intendant of New France, prepared to make it. In 1670 he sent Saint-Lusson to the Sault St. Marie, long before known, as we have seen, to the explorers and missionaries. It was the key-point in the Great Lakes region. The Jesuits had journeyed there many years before and the famous Father Marquette had already (1668) founded there a mission for the conversion of the Indian tribes in that vicinity. Through messengers sent broadcast, Saint-Lusson, an adept in Indian dialects, with a party of fifteen associates, soldiers and priests, including the interpreter Nicolas Perrot and the explorer Louis Joliet, had requested the presence of representatives of the Indian tribes. They assembled in various numbers from the Pottawatomes, Miamis, Sacs, Winnebagoes, Menomonies, Crees, Monsonis, Amikoues, Nipissings, and many more, fourteen tribes in all. This motley throng of

several hundred forest savages assembled in their various scant costumes and gawdy adornments, to the natural music of the rippling waters of the rapids,

“With their weapons and their war-gear,  
Painted like the leaves of Autumn,  
Painted like the sky of morning,  
Widely glaring at each other.”

These swarmed about the Mission fort on the little hill, where a large cross, first blessed by the Jesuits, was raised and fastened in the ground. The Frenchmen sang their triumphant hymn:

“The banners of Heaven’s King advance,  
The mystery of the cross shines forth.”

Then near the cross was reared a post bearing a metal plate inscribed with the French royal arms. A prayer was offered for the king. Then Saint-Lusson advanced, and holding his sword aloft in one hand and raising a sod of earth with the other, he formally, in the name of God and France, proclaimed possession of “Lakes Huron and Superior and all countries, rivers, lakes, and streams contiguous and adjacent thereunto, both those that have been discovered and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their length and breadth, bounded on one side by the seas of the north and west and on the other by the South Sea;” etc. The Frenchmen fired a salute and “the yelps of the astonished Indians mingled with the din.” Little did those simple children of the forest realize that they were applauding a pageantry that preluded the doom of their race. Six centuries before, William the Norman Conqueror landed in Britain, and as the free-booter leaped upon the shore he stumbled and fell, but with

French wit, which the Normans had picked up in their Gallic sojourn, he seized a handful of the soil and springing to his feet, holding the clod of England on high exclaimed: "See, by the grace of God, I already have the country in my grasp." From this latter incident and the one just related above, it would seem that the Latins were a close second to the Anglo-Saxons in the art of land-grabbing with spectacular accompaniments. But the Anglo-Saxon according to the results of history has the longer and tighter grip.

While the fur traders and the wood runners were tramping the forests in search of peltries and the missionaries were setting up their altars at Indian centers and breaking the forest silence with the chanting of mass, and the singing of hymns, the explorers were tracing the rivers and lakes and dreaming of vast empires yet unentered and of that *ignis fatuus*, the northwest passage, that should open to them the wealth of the Orient.

The Ohio thus far was a *fluvius incognitus*. Rumors of its beauty and extent had often reached the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. It remained for La Salle to be its discoverer. His full name was René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. Nature had formed him in her strongest mold, endowing him with powerful physique and courtly bearing. One with so striking an appearance and a name so euphonic would naturally be expected to distinguish himself in some unusual way, and he does not disappoint us. He was born in the year 1643 in the city of Rouen, where just two centuries before, the ill-fated patriot-martyr, Joan of Arc met her tragic death at the stake.

At an early age La Salle joined the Jesuits and was by them educated, but his restless temperament was ill suited to the rigid religious life of that society, and he abandoned it in early manhood for a wider and more worldly career. From youth he had an unquenchable thirst for adventure and "an intense longing for action and achievement." An elder brother, Abbé Jean Cavelier, was a priest of the Saint Sulpice order, and had emigrated to Canada. Thither in 1666 Robert joined him. The Sulpitians had acquired proprietary and feudal rights in the Canadian country and established a seminary at Montreal, which town they had also founded. These Sulpitian priests bestowed their lands upon settlers who were thus induced to aid in building up a stronghold, that would offer a refuge from the hostile Indians, for Montreal was the outpost on the frontier of the Iroquois country and it was from Montreal that the French voyagers took their departure up the Ottawa River.

The Sulpitians gratuitously granted La Salle a tract of land some seven miles above Montreal at the entrance of the famous Rapids, through whose boiling waters steamers now slowly glide amid the excitement of the deck crowding passengers. This site and the rapids were named La Chine, in derision of the early dream of La Salle that by sailing up the Saint Lawrence and continuing west, on and on, he would reach the goal of all trade and fortune seekers—China.

La Salle entered enthusiastically upon the improvement of his new estate and urged other pioneers to unite with him. But "his thoughts flew far beyond, across the wild and lonely world that stretched toward

the sunset." Among the many bands of Indians whose friendship he coveted and courted were some Senecas who told him of a river called the "Oyo"—the Ohio—rising in their country and flowing into the sea. La Salle took this to be the "Vermillion Sea" or the Gulf of California, and he resolved to embark upon a search "to unpathed waters, undreamed seas." La Salle was amply equipped by nature for such an undertaking. He had "the cravings of deep ambition and the hunger of an insatiable intellect." No obstacle daunted him—he was the personification of daring. He had become acquainted with Indian life and character and had acquired somewhat of the native tongues. The French governor of Canada, Courcelle, and his Intendant, Talon, readily gave La Salle requisite authority to proceed in his bold undertaking—indeed all that these officials did give him for the expedition was authority, for he was to defray his own expense. He sold his La Chine holdings and with the funds thus obtained bought four canoes with necessary supplies, and hired fourteen men as an escort.

Meanwhile the Sulpitians decided to send forth a party to establish missions in the northwest, as the Jesuits had done. This party having the conversion of the Indians for its purpose was headed by the Sulpitian priests Dollier de Casson, usually known as Dollier, and Brehan de Galinée, the latter a priest of much scholarship, a writer, a surveyor and map-maker. They procured three canoes and employed seven men as oarsmen. This party was united to that of La Salle, though the motives and destinations of the two companies were different. The combined expedition,

comprising twenty-four men in seven canoes, bade farewell to the foaming and roaring rapids and started upon their voyage, guided by a party of Senecas in two other canoes. Galinée wrote a complete account of the Sulpitian expedition, which includes La Salle's journey to the point where he and his companions parted in company from the priests. As stated by Galinée, after leaving La Chine the flotilla reached Irondequoit Bay on the south shore of Lake Ontario. At this point a band of Seneca Indians invited the voyagers to one of their chief villages, some twenty miles south of Lake Ontario, and about the same distance east of the Genesee River. This village was known in the Seneca dialect as Gaosaehgaah, in Mohawk as Gannagaro. La Salle accepted the invitation thereby hoping to secure guides who could direct him to the Ohio. He was accompanied by Galinée, the reporter of the party. Dollier and most of the others remained behind on the lake shore to guard the canoes. La Salle and companions spent four or five weeks at the Seneca Village, but failed to get guides. No Seneca would risk the dangers of the trip. They warned La Salle against venturing into the region of the Toauguenha or the land of the Shawnees—"who were very bad people that would kill the French in the night." The Shawnees at this time, were located in Tennessee and Kentucky and along the Ohio River, especially at the mouths of the Miami and the Scioto, and were at enmity with the Iroquois. Later we shall see much of these Shawnee people. Moreover the Senecas claimed the explorers would run great risks "along the Ohio River" of meeting the Ontastois—probably the Andas-



tes on the Allegheny—"who would surely break our heads." La Salle, Galinée and those with them rejoined Dollier on the lake shore and the entire party proceeded to the extreme western point of Ontario, now known as Burlington Bay. They started over the portage to Grand River, headed for Lake Erie when they reached an Iroquois village called Otinawatawa. During their stay at this village, Galinée relates that their Iroquois hosts brought in two captive Indians, a Nez Percez and a "Chaouanon." The generous captors presented the Nez Percez for a guide to the Sulpitians and the Chaouanon to La Salle for the same purpose. Chaouanon was the French name for Shawnee. This Shawnee said he could guide La Salle to the Ohio, which could be reached in six weeks.

It was in the last days of September that La Salle, Galinée and company arrived at Otinawatawa. They were delighted with their progress and the securing of guides and were about to set out on their western journey, when unexpectedly two Frenchmen arrived at the Iroquois settlement from the west. They were Louis Joliet and a companion, the former already famous as an explorer, fur trader and guide. Joliet was returning from the Lake Superior region, where he had been, at the bequest of Talon, in search of the copper mines known to exist there. Joliet on his return, instead of following the Ottawa River route from Montreal as he had gone, had paddled his way back over the waters of Lakes Huron, St. Clair and Erie, "the discovery of which waterways alone would have given his name a place in history," for he has the reputation of being the first European to plow the

waves of Lake Erie, though there certainly must have been many others long before him. From Lake Erie he ascended the Grand River to the portage for Lake Ontario and at Otinawatawa, met the party we have just followed from La Chine. Joliet explained to his French friends the direction of the long watercourse he had just covered. After due deliberation the Sulpitians decided to continue on to the northwest along the route so recently traversed by Joliet. They would establish missions in the far off regions of the Great Lakes. La Salle's purpose on the contrary was the discovery of the Ohio, and he would therefore part company with the priests. As a farewell ceremony, Dollier said mass while his colleagues with La Salle and companions received the sacrament. This religious service over, the two parties separated. The Sulpitians proceeded along the northern shore of Lake Erie, passed through the river and lake of St. Clair across Lake Huron, called by the French the *Mer Douce*, or fresh water sea, and thence pushed on to the Sault St. Marie, only to find that the Indian mission business had been preëmpted by the zealous Jesuits who had practically assumed a monopoly of Indian conversion as the incorporated merchants had created a monopoly of the fur trade. The Sulpitian party was obliged to waive all missionary attempts and with no results from their expedition—save that Galinée preserved data for a map of the country traversed and wrote an account of the journey—they returned by the northern route of Georgian Bay, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River, arriving in Montreal in June, 1670.



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Whither went La Salle?

One of the deplorable lapses of history is the disappearance of La Salle for two years or more following his separation from Dollier and Galinée at Otinawatawa on September 30, 1669. For some twenty years, from his arrival in Montreal to his tragic assassination at the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle is a fascinating figure in the annals of American exploration and discovery. It was his habit to take notes and make charts descriptive of his journeys and discoveries, and his memoranda furnished subsequent writers material for many a valuable and romantic volume. But the papers covering his first voyage, the one of all others that would most interest the student of Ohio History were lost or destroyed, and that loss has created the opportunity for much curious speculation and no little acrimonious discussion. Preserved contemporary writings do not satisfactorily supply the omission. The Jesuit *Relations* in all of their voluminous and detailed extent do not so much as mention the name of La Salle. He was a Separatist from their society. He coöperatively affiliated with their would-be emulators, the Sulpitians, and enrolled his name high in the hall of fame among the founders of colonial France and thus attained an enviable glory which the Jesuits did not seek to enlarge. The one to whom we are mainly indebted for publicity of what literature exists on the subject is Pierre Margry, a distinguished historian who was born in Paris in 1818, and there died in 1894. At the age of twenty-four years M. Margry became curator of the archives of the Ministry of Marine and was officially intrusted with the task of studying the colonial

history of France in America, a study he enthusiastically pursued for fifty years, until his death. He produced many volumes, the result of painstaking research. He unearthed all data discoverable concerning La Salle and especially sought to solve the riddle of his Ohio route. He published Galinée's account of the Sulpitian expedition which, as we have seen, faithfully carried La Salle from La Chine to his leave taking at Otinawatawa.

During the period in question, in all probability, La Salle was tracing the course of the Ohio, and paddling his canoe on the current of tributary streams. His own record is gone, but following the laws of legal testimony, in the absence of primary evidence we introduce secondary, the next best at hand. In 1674, and again in 1678, La Salle, on errands we shall hereafter mention, made brief visits to Paris. While there on the second visit he had "ten or twelve conversations" with a friend, supposed to have been the Abbé Renaudot, who soon thereafter anonymously wrote a history of Monsieur de la Salle, which Margry publishes in his French discoveries. This recital of La Salle contains a detailed statement of his route to the Ohio and thereon. As reported, however, the conversational "history" presents some grammatical and many geographical confusions. So many indeed that La Salle's exact route is left in doubt and various theories have been spun from the indefinite and contradictory text. Parkman, who gave careful examination to this subject, gives the "substance" of that part of the conversation that interests us, as follows: "After leaving the priests, La Salle went to Onondaga,"—

the Mohawk capital—"where we are left to infer he succeeded better in getting a guide than he had before done among the Senecas. Thence he made his way to a point six or seven leagues from Lake Erie, where he reached a branch of the Ohio, and descending it, followed the river as far as the rapids of Louisville—or as has been maintained, beyond the Mississippi. His men now refused to go further, and abandoned him, escaping to the English and Dutch; whereupon La Salle retraced his steps alone." The word "Louisville" of course is not employed in the French report as published by Margry but is inferred from the allusion to the "rapids" or "falls." There is strong evidence, however, aside from the "conversation" and an almost unanimous consensus of opinion among historical writers and critics, that La Salle discovered the Ohio on a journey begun in the Autumn of 1669. It is also generally admitted that, on this journey, he did not go as far as the Mississippi. But by what route he reached the Ohio and to just what extent he followed it, are questions that probably will never be settled. If he took his start from the Iroquois country, having returned to it after leaving Galinée, he had many routes from which to select, all of which were subsequently employed by the pioneer navigators. At Gannagaro, La Salle was but six days travel from the Genesee which was but thirty miles distant from the Olighiny-Sipou, as the Iroquois called the head-water of the Ohio. This or some other approach to the Allegheny from the Iroquois country was the most natural one for La Salle to take, and is pleaded by many historical writers. Or he could have returned

to Lake Ontario from the western extremity of which he might have made the portage to Grand River, thence into Lake Erie; skirting its eastern end—for he could not have crossed the tempestuous lake in canoes—to the south side he had many ways to the Ohio, each of which has advocates, who have respectively led La Salle to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, thence over the portage to the Tuscarawas and the Muskingum, letting him enter the Ohio at the site of Marietta; or he could have pushed on to the Sandusky which by portage connection would have carried him to the Scioto; or still hugging the Erie southern shore, he would have found the mouth of the Maumee and by switching to the Auglaize he could have crossed to the Big Miami; or he could have pushed up the Maumee, crossed to the headwaters of the Wabash and therefrom entered the Ohio. The Wabash was, in the earliest times, called by the French Ouabache, and one of its Indian names was Ouabous-Kiaou; both these names were applied to the Ohio, and this fact adds further confusion to the discussion of La Salle's journey.

The Maumee-Wabash route has not a few claimants, among whom one of the most emphatic is Dr. Charles E. Slocum, author of several works on Ohio history. Dr. Slocum's views on the La Salle discovery are set forth in the publication (1903) of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. He takes issue with Parkman and from "a very liberal translation" of the "conversation" published by Margry, he confidently pilots La Salle up the Maumee, across the portage to the headwaters of the Wabash and thence to the Ohio.

In reply to the latter theory is the convincing argument in favor of the probable route of La Salle by the late Edward L. Taylor, Sr., also presented in the publications (1905-10) of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Mr. Taylor, a life long student of Ohio history and a most accurate and authoritative writer, upon that subject, after critically examining the source materials bearing on this question decides that "La Salle, after parting with the priests on Grand River, followed the course of that stream to Lake Erie that passed the head of Niagara (Ohnghiara) thence along the south side of Lake Erie to Chautauqua Lake, thence to the waters of the Allegheny and the Ohio. This was surely the best and by far the most direct route to the country of the Ohio or its headwaters and precisely where he desired to go." Repudiating the "very liberal translation" of La Salle's "conversation" made by Dr. Slocum in order to fit it to the Maumee-Wabash route, Mr. Taylor thinks "the country between the outlet of Lake Chautauqua and the Allegheny was suitable for the description of the country which is described in the original text" as produced by Margry and reprinted, as to the part in dispute, by Parkman.

An important class of witnesses not to be ignored in this case is that of the cartographers or map-makers, contemporary with La Salle. Their testimony confirms his route down the Ohio from the Allegheny. Justin Winsor reproduces many of the earliest maps of North America in his "Narrative and Critical History of America." No maps previous to 1669 indicate the Ohio River, which first appears in an anonymous drawing of the "basin of the Great Lakes" made about

1672 and sometimes called La Salle's map. But in Joliet's map of 1672-4, the Ohio River is delineated and along its course the notation "*Riviere par ou descendit le sieur de La Salle au sortie du Lac Erie pour aller dans Le Mexique;*"—"River by which Sieur de la Salle descended in going from Lake Erie to Mexico."

While his exact route may remain undetermined, there seems to be little doubt that La Salle was the first European to discover and navigate the waters of the Ohio. To this effect we have not only the "conversations" before considered but La Salle's own assertion in a memorial by him addressed to Frontenac in 1677, wherein La Salle says that in the year 1667 and following, he made many voyages at great expense, during which he discovered for the first time much country south of the Great Lakes and "among others the great river Ohio." A "Minute of Instructions to Marquis Duquesne," issued to that official by the French Ministry in 1752, relating to the Ohio country, states: "The River Ohio, otherwise called the Beautiful River, and its tributaries, belong indisputably to France by virtue of the discovery by Sieur de la Salle." Moreover the New York Colonial Documents contain private instructions (1755) from Versailles to M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, which testify: "It is only since the last war that the English have set up claims to the territory on the Beautiful River, the possession whereof had never been disputed to the French, who have always resorted to that river ever since it was discovered by Sieur de la Salle."

The latest word thus far in this controversy is that of Charles A. Hanna in his exhaustive and scholarly



volumes "The Wilderness Trail," just (1911) published. Mr. Hanna, in a somewhat extended recital of his reasons, annuls all routes claimed for La Salle, with the decision that he was not the discoverer of the Ohio River at all. Mr. Hanna discredits the "conversations" published by Margry; doubts the genuineness of La Salle's alleged Memorial to Frontenac, and thinks the statement, as to La Salle's route, inscribed on Joliet's map was written thereon many years later than the date of the map and was a species of forgery. After lengthy examination of the pleadings in favor of La Salle, Mr. Hanna decrees: "The evidence as to La Salle having explored any other tributary of the Ohio than (possibly) the Wabash bears so many marks of having been fabricated after 1684, for the purpose of strengthening the French claims to the Ohio Valley, that it seems to the writer only a question of time when that evidence must be declared to be wholly false." And he further concludes: "The first white traveler in the Ohio Valley was probably Arnold Viele, the Dutch trader, from Albany, who reached the Ohio in 1692 and spent the year 1693 on its waters."

But to the mind of the present writer the arguments relied upon by Mr. Hanna are mainly negative and leave La Salle's claim still unrefuted, with the preponderance of evidence decidedly in his favor, and the judgment of Parkman still unreversed that "La Salle discovered the Ohio."





CHAPTER VI.

THE IROQUOIAN CONQUESTS



#### DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette on their expedition of 1673. This picture represents the party of the discoverers in their birch bark canoe entering the Mississippi from the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

## DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Discovery of the Mississippi by John and Martin on their expedition of 1673. This part represents the party of the discoverers in their first year, showing the Mississippi from the mouth of the Wisconsin River





**L**A SALLE'S supposed Ohio voyage was a year or two previous to the proclaiming (1671) of French possession of the Northwest by Saint-Lusson at the Sault. The following year (1672), Louis de Baude, famous as the Count du Frontenac, succeeded Courcelle as governor-general of Canada and soon thereafter Duchesneau superseded Talon as Intendant, or Deputy Governor. Frontenac energetically entered upon the policy of claiming everything and claiming it with confidence for France. The ambition of this courtly and courageous governor embraced the extension of French territory to the abrogation of Spanish claims and the restriction of English encroachments. To prosecute the project of territorial expansion, Frontenac selected the intrepid and tried Joliet and the heroic Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette. These two were well versed in the art of tracing their way through the wilderness and knew thoroughly the character and habits of the savages. Both were aflame with zeal for their Church and their country. In two birch canoes, with five Indian oarsmen, Joliet and Marquette set forth. They coasted the northern shores of Lake Michigan and reached the headwaters of Green Bay; entered Fox River; dragged their boats up the rapids; crossed Lake Winnebago and followed the windings of the river beyond; carried their canoes over the portage and launched them on the Wisconsin, whose current bore them to the broad and majestic stream called by the Indians the Mescha-zebe or Messa-sipi, and by Marquette "Riviere de la Conception." They passed the mouths of the Missouri, the Ohio, which Marquette placed on his map as

"Ouabous-Kiaou," and the Arkansas. The great river that swept them so swiftly on its broad bosom seemed interminable and they dared not go farther for fear of the Spaniards and the savages. They had ventured far enough, however, as they thought, to establish one important point; that the Mississippi discharged its waters not into the Atlantic or Sea of Virginia, nor the Vermillion Sea or Pacific, but into the Gulf of Mexico. The daring explorers decided to return to Canada and report their discoveries. They reached Green Bay by way of the Illinois, and Joliet hastened on to Quebec to tell Frontenac of the success of their expedition. Thus Marquette and Joliet navigated the upper Mississippi. It was at least its second discovery, for over a century earlier we saw De Soto stand upon its banks at Chickasaw Bluffs; and it may have been its third discovery, as the Spanish sailor Alonzo Pineda is said by many authorities to have entered the mouth of the Mississippi during his voyage of 1619 in the Gulf of Mexico, though this is doubted by Winsor, in his *Critical History* and by Ogg in his "Opening of the Mississippi." In any event the Father of Waters is sure to have had, as his dignity and importance deserved, the honor of more than one discovery:

"The Father of Waters sweeps on to the Main,  
Where the dark mounds in silence and loneliness stand,  
And the wrecks of the Redmen are strewn o'er the land."

Marquette, worn with the privations and perils of the journey and weakened by disease, valiantly remained in the Illinois country, that he might labor to the end for the saving of Indian souls. On the shore of



Lake Michigan, in a rude bark hut, attended by two faithful companions, the pious Jesuit breathed his last, gazing upon a crucifix and murmuring a prayer till death veiled his eyes and closed his lips. In dauntless perseverance, in religious devotion, in self-abnegation and sacrifice for the advancement of the Cross, no name in French-American annals shines with greater luster than that of Pere Marquette. With equal zeal he served his God and his King. He was deemed worthy a noble statue in the Capitol of our Nation at Washington.

Joliet's glowing account of the extension of New France in the western wilderness added fuel to the fiery ambition of Frontenac. Immediately upon his arrival in Canada, Frontenac, "the most picturesque of the French Governors, at one time a figure robed in velvet and lace reflected in the mirrors of the palace at Versailles, at another time painted and plumed to dance the war-dance in the heart of the wilderness," found La Salle a man after his own heart. La Salle if he was not the first protagonist was surely the chief promoter of the plan that New France, in order to secure and retain the territory covered by their discoveries, must enter therein and erect posts and forts as centers of military defense and tribal trade. His vast scheme was to establish a line of these fortresses throughout the extent of the French discoveries. The first of these forts was to be Fort Frontenac at the headwaters of the St. Lawrence, thus commanding the gateway to and from Lake Ontario. In the furtherance of this project, in the Fall of 1674, Frontenac sent to the French court at Paris, his chief reliance, La Salle, recommend-

State of Maryland now in the Capital at W. Washington  
The land is not in a state of being but rather the opposite  
The land is not in a state of being but rather the opposite  
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most perfect knowledge of the state

La Salle was well received at the  
court of Louis, who desired to see  
his projects and bold projects.

La Salle was a patient of the king with  
empty honor, but more and more

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La Salle returned to Canada and  
opposition of the Jesuits, the court

Intend at Duchesneau, but with the  
ship of Frontenac, he entered upon his

task of achievement that New  
France and the valleys of the Ohio

La Salle lost no time in de-  
parting for the future, but to call

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fortress he named Fort de la

mouth of the Cataract River

Kingston. This military post

established, La Salle made his

this visit he held the "confer-

discussed and he reported to the

and fulfilled the royal permission

and he now asked further

at the outlet of Lake Erie and

at points to be ordered from

the confidence of the king's



ing him to the king as one "who is a man of intelligence and ability, more capable than anybody else I know here to accomplish every kind of enterprise and discovery which may be intrusted to him, as he has the most perfect knowledge of the state of this country."

La Salle was well received at the gay and dissolute court of Louis, who listened to La Salle's story of brave deeds and bold projects. The king bestowed upon him a patent of nobility without title, a somewhat empty honor, but more substantially recompensed him by granting him the site for Fort Frontenac with certain lands and islands adjacent. Thus fortified, La Salle returned to Canada and amid the constant opposition of the Jesuits, the continued ill-will of the Intendant Duchesneau, but with the unfailing friendship of Frontenac, he entered upon his career of adventure and achievement that New France might win control of the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

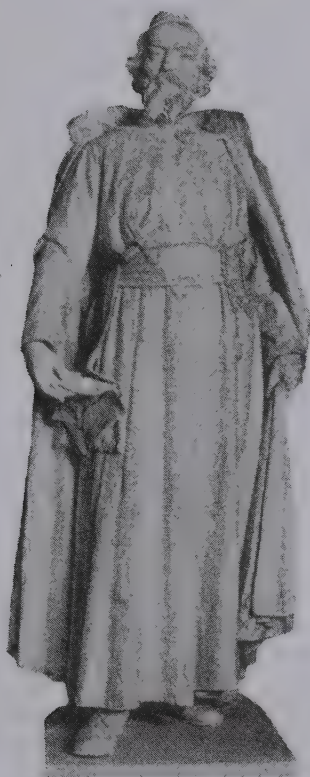
La Salle lost no time in demolishing the small palisaded enclosure, hitherto called a fort and spared no pains in replacing it with a strong stone-walled fortress he named Frontenac. It was located at the mouth of the Cataraqui River on the present site of Kingston. This military post and trading station well established, La Salle made his second trip to Paris. In this visit he held the "conversations" we have already discussed and he reported to the king how fully he had fulfilled the royal permission to erect Fort Frontenac and he now asked further privilege to build a fort at the outlet of Lake Erie and plant other military posts at points to be selected further west. He had won the confidence of the king's councillors and they

## JACQUES MARQUETTE

Statue of Marquette now in the Capitol at Washington. The face is not an accurate portrait, but rather the typical features and expression of a Jesuit missionary.



"I know of no man in the colony capable of every kind of enterprise and danger which may be intrusted to him, as he has the necessary knowledge of the state of this country." La Salle was well received at the gay and dissolute court of Louis, who listened to La Salle's story of his adventures and bold projects. The king bestowed on him a title of nobility without title, a somewhat empty honor, but more importantly recompensed him by giving him the title for Fort Frontenac with certain lands and lands adjacent. Thus fortified La Salle returned to Canada and amid the constant opposition of the Jesuits, the continued ill-will of the Intendant Duchesneau, but with the unfailing friendship of Frontenac, he entered upon his career of adventure and achievement that New France might venture into the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. He first set to work in demolishing the small wooden fort, hitherto called a fort and space for building it with a strong stone-wall and bastions and a citadel. It was located at the mouth of the Canadian River on the present site of Kingston. His first step and trading station was taken. La Salle took his second trip to Paris. When he held the "conversations" we have already met and he returned to the king how fully he filled the royal commission to erect Fort Frontenac and he now asked for further privilege to build a new outlet of the river and plant other military colonies to be carried farther west. He had the assistance of the king's councillors and the







readily yielded to his requests. Armed with this increased authority he returned to Canada accompanied by Henri de Tonty, an Italian officer and roving warrior and by Louis Hennepin, an adventure-seeking Friar of the Franciscan order. Both these colleagues by their brave and indefatigable labors were destined to share in no little measure the fame that awaited their leader. La Salle at once erected, at the mouth of the Niagara River, a defensive block-house, later to be replaced by Fort Niagara. At the same time on the Niagara River, some six miles above the Falls, at the mouth of Cayuga Creek, under the personal supervision of Tonty and Hennepin, La Salle caused to be built a wooden vessel of forty-five or fifty tons burden. In the Spring of 1679, this crude craft, after being blessed by Father Hennepin was launched amid the singing of the *Te Deum*, the firing of cannon and the shouts of the French and Indians. She was christened the "Griffin," a figure of which mythical creature, with the body of a lion and the wings of an eagle, the bold and ambitious boat bore at its prow. The Griffin, which was a man of war as well as a merchant marine, for five tiny cannon peeped from her port-holes, spread her sails to the breeze and rode the waves of Erie, bearing La Salle, his companions and crew. The reader desiring to follow the voyage of this first ship to float upon the waters of the Great Lakes, should do so in the fascinating chapters of Parkman. The Griffin proudly pushed her course westward through one after another of the inland seas until she cast anchor off an island in Lake Michigan at the entrance of Green Bay. There she was laden with furs and then under orders of La Salle,

who here left the boat in pursuit of other plans, her pilot and crew weighed anchor and began the return trip for Niagara. She never reached her destination. Whether lost in a storm, foundered upon some hidden reefs or sunk by the treachery of her sailors or attacking land pirates that they might enrich themselves with her valuable cargo, will never be known. It is generally believed she never emerged from Lake Michigan, but that only a few days on her voyage she encountered a storm, was driven on the rocks or a sand bar and dashed to pieces. La Salle with Tonty and Hennepin, in eight canoes with French associates and Indian oarsmen, thirty-three in all, skirted the shore of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, also called the Miami. Here they built a rude log fort, thereafter known as Fort Miami, to protect which he left a few of his French followers, and then with the main party ascended the river till opposite the headwaters of the Kankakee to which they made portage and thereby reached the Illinois, down whose wide current "bordered with dreary meadows and bare gray forests," their light canoes easily floated till a point was reached just below modern Peoria. Here the expedition halted and was nearly ended. They were in the deep recesses of a vast forest country and in the center of a hostile Indian confederacy of the Algonquin tribes, calling themselves the "Illini" meaning they were "men," the term being used to distinguish themselves from their rapacious enemies, the Iroquois, whom they designated as "beasts." These "Illini" tribes were known to the French and English as "Illinois."

Marquette in his *Relations* gives a lengthy account of the Illinois, among whom he spent much time. They were a populous people composing five nations; the Tamaroas, Michigamies, Kaskaskias, Cahokias and Peorias. These nations at this time had a friendly coöperative alliance, called a confederation, but to no such extent or strength as the Iroquois who were their deadly enemies. The Illinois claimed as their especial hunting ground the territory from the Wabash to the Mississippi and from the Ohio to Rock River in the territory of which resided their northern neighbors the Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes and Kickapoos.

The Illinois opposed the further progress of La Salle and threatened the destruction of his party. It was the dead of winter, the cold was biting and the sleet-sheeted woods yielded no food. His men were on the verge of mutiny; some actually deserted and others secretly plotted to kill the daring leader. Surely it was a time for the stoutest heart to fail; not so with the heroic La Salle. Deeply disappointed over the outcome of his plans, for he was bound for the Mississippi, and realizing his helplessness while remaining thus exposed to innumerable dangers, with his masterful tact he pacified the native Indians, dominated his own men and built a small fort—significantly naming it Fort Creve-Coeur—"Broken Heart"—the first fort in the Illinois country and the fourth in his projected chain from Montreal to the mouth of the Mississippi. Fort Creve-Coeur erected, La Salle dispatched Hennepin and two French assistants in a canoe down the Illinois—to explore the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois northward. Hennepin started but never

returned. His party was captured on the Upper Mississippi by an Ossauti band of the Sioux, and after many weeks of wide wanderings as a captive he was finally taken to Canada by French rescuers under Du Lhut. Later he returned to Europe and gave an interesting but not always veracious account of his experiences, a volume that had great circulation and was translated into many languages. One author says Hennepin belonged to that class of writers who speak the truth by accident and lie by inclination, and La Salle called him a great exaggerator who wrote more in conformity with his wishes than his knowledge.

Leaving Fort Creve-Coeur in charge of Tonty and fifteen men, La Salle now started out with six companions, to traverse the broad intervening wilderness, in the desperate effort to procure another outfit in far-away Canada. Through dense forests, snow covered and ice bound, across frozen creeks and swollen streams, in melting torrents and blinding storms, alarmed by howling wolves and whooping savages, the little band undaunted picked its way to Fort Miami; thence across the country to the headwaters of Lake Erie, the remaining voyage made by canoes, brought him finally in the last of April, 1680, to Fort Frontenac. During sixty-five days La Salle had toiled almost incessantly, amid untold perils and obstacles in a journey of over a thousand miles. He learned now for a certainty that the Griffin was lost, his creditors had seized his property at Frontenac, and news soon reached him by *coureurs de bois* that the garrison left with Tonty had mutinied and destroyed the fort. Did man ever face greater accumulation of misfortune?

### LOUIS JOLIET

A Canadian by birth, 1645. Educated in the Jesuit College at Quebec. One of the most heroic voyageurs of his time. He was one of the first to reach the western point of Sault Stele Marie. He accompanied Marquette in his discovery of the Mississippi. He died in 1700 on his possessions near Quebec.

# THE RISE AND FALL OF

A Canadian by birth, 1842. Educated in the Jesuit College at Quebec, one of the most heroic revolutionaries of his time. He was one of the first to teach the western point of view, Saint John's. He accompanied Alphonse de la Gueule to the Mississippi. He died in 1900.

[illegible]







But spite of calamities that would have crushed any but an iron soul like his, again he sprang forth for fresh efforts in pursuit of his ambitions. Tonty must be rescued; the Mississippi must be explored. In August La Salle again embarked for the Illinois. With him went carpenters, masons, soldiers and voyagers, in all twenty-five men. He took the short cut, ascending the Humber River, crossing to Lake Simcoe and thence by the river Severn reaching Georgian Bay; following the eastern shore of Lake Huron he at length was at Michilimackinac. The St. Joseph and portage to Kankakee again brought them to the Illinois which they rapidly descended. The forests and meadows and river were there as before but the camps and villages of the Illinois tribes had disappeared; "no hunters were seen; no saluting whoop greeted their ears." The great Indian town of the Illinois—the chief city of the allying tribes—located on the Illinois near the mouth of the Vermillion, was a scene of horror and desolation, in the place of the huts were heaps of ashes and scattered charred bones and grinning skulls; heads with the skins dried like leather were mounted on sticks thrust upright in the ground; half burned bodies of Indian women and children still clung to the stakes to which they had been bound and upon which they had been tortured; the unwrapped remains of their dead resting on platforms in the trees, a burial peculiar to the Illinois, had been torn down and desecrated; cornfields were laid waste; the ravages of a conquering and pitiless enemy had been complete. Wolves prowled in the nearby woods, and "clouds of crows and buzzards, swirled above the horrid scene." It was

the bloody handiwork of the Iroquois, "tigers of the human race" now in the height of their power and activity. Since La Salle's last visit, some six hundred warriors of the Five Nations, led by the Seneca chief Tagancourte, had crossed into the Illinois country, on the way placating and securing a hundred or more recruits from the Miamis who lay in their path. Like a wolf, in the night, they pounced upon the Illinois capital and with their accustomed barbarian fury overcame the tribes of the weaker confederacy. Those of the vanquished, located in the territory invaded, that were not slaughtered or taken captive, fled to the south, west and north. It was one of the most frightful raids of the fierce and speedy assailants. The *Relations* state the Iroquois slayed or took captive over a thousand Illinois. The warriors of the Long House defied distance no less than the foe and their conquering bands penetrated to the remote lake regions of the northwest.

La Salle hurried from the sickening spectacle to learn the fate of Tonty. On their way down the river they passed the ruins of many of the minor villages of the Illinois; these lay on one side of the river bank while on the opposite side were the corresponding locations of the lately occupied camps of the Iroquois. The stream for miles had marked the course of the devastating warfare. When the site of Creve-Coeur was reached, it was seen, as had been reported, that its demolition by its deserters had been accomplished. There was no trace of Tonty or his men. La Salle with one canoe kept on down the current till arriving at its mouth, he gazed out upon the wide swift surface

of the Mississippi—"the object of his ambition and his hopes." He longed to cast his fate upon the bosom of the majestic eddy now clogged with cakes of floating ice and seek its termination, but the time for that was not yet. Reversing his course, he turned his canoe up stream and slowly pushed his journey back by the Illinois, whence he had come. He spent the winter in the protection of the palisades of Fort Miami.

The Illinois country was still torn with the Illinois-Iroquois war. The conquerors returning with their western captives made war upon their late allies the Miamis, and even inflicted their merciless victories upon the Shawnees on the Ohio. Representatives of the Illinois, the Miamis and the Shawnees appealed to La Salle for aid from the French. The motley assembly at Fort Miami was increased by a band of refugees from the New England tribes including the Abenakis, Mohicans and others, driven from their native seats on the Atlantic by the fortunes of the War, in which King Phillip, the famous chief of the Wampanoags, had organized a confederacy of the eastern tribes for the purpose of exterminating the English settlements.

La Salle improved the opportunity to address the Indian "council" of the gathered tribesmen. With all the gifts of forest eloquence and French diplomacy he claimed the country for France and eulogized the power of Onontio, as the Indians called the Governor of Canada, and assured the savages of Frontenac's friendship and protection if they would requite him with their allegiance. Onontio, he argued, would help them chastise the irrepressible Iroquois. His auditors gave assent to his persuasive words. The Spring—

of 1681—with its thaws on lake and river permitted La Salle to resume his journeys. Proceeding to Michilimackinac he there found Tonty who had been a witness to the chief incidents of the Iroquois invasion and who after passing through many hairbreadth escapes had reached in safety the mission where La Salle met him. Together the voyagers paddled their canoes a thousand miles to Fort Frontenac whence after a few weeks of preparation La Salle made his third start for the Mississippi. In December the party, comprising besides La Salle and Tonty eighteen New England Indians and twenty-three Frenchmen, were at Fort Miami. By the following February, the canoes of the expedition glided from the Illinois into the southbound sweep of the Mississippi. Upon the details of this trip it is not necessary to dwell. At one of the Chickasaw bluffs, where De Soto had formerly stood and claimed the river and valley for Spain, La Salle encamped and on the bluff built a little stockade which he named Fort Prudhomme, after the French officer left there with a few others as a garrison force. It was the first French fortress on the mighty river which La Salle called the "Colbert," in honor of Jean Baptiste Colbert, Minister of Marine and Finance in the cabinet of King Louis. They stopped at many villages, as they passed through the territory of the different tribes the Tamaroas, Arkansas, Taensas, Natchez, Oumas, Koroas, and others gave them tribal hospitality. At the junctures of two or three rivers emptying into the "Colbert," La Salle set up the arms of the king and made claim of the country for France, a showy ceremony upon which the uncomprehending natives gazed

with amazement and applause. In the early days of April the mouth of the river was reached. La Salle had attained the goal of his aims and ambition. The party assembled on an elevated knob of ground where the river spreads out into three channels that flowed diversely into the Gulf of Mexico; and there La Salle erected a wooden column upon which was attached the arms of France and the inscription "Louis Le Grand; Roy de France, et de Navarre, Regne; le Neuvieme Avril 1682." The Frenchmen chanted the *Te Deum*, then followed a volley from the muskets and shouts of "Vive le Roi," after which La Salle read with loud voice in formal word the *proces verbal* in the name of his Majesty Louis the Great, of the taking of "possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all nations, peoples, provinces, cities, towns, villages, streams, and rivers, comprised in the extent of said Louisiana from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin-Sipore, or Chukagona, and this with the consent of the Chaouanons, Chickachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Natchez, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance either by ourselves, or by others in our behalf; as far as its mouth at the sea, or the Gulf of Mexico, \* \* \* upon the assurance, which

we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended the said River Colbert."

This proclamation, which we have not quoted entire, was subscribed to by a French notary and signed by La Salle and the French members of the expedition. The complete translation is given by Jared Sparks in his life of La Salle. Parkman remarks that the assertion by La Salle that he had the "consent" of the Indian nations named to his assuming possession of the vast country, he called Louisiana after his king, Louis, "is a mere farce." For that matter did not the whole proceedings partake of the nature of a theatrical comedy?

Now reluctantly we hasten to the tragic end of La Salle, the master mind and greatest agent for the advancement of Canadian-France. He returned up the river he had taken, not by conquest or purchase or treaty, but by "word of mouth" merely. On the Illinois above the site of Creve-Coeur, on a cliff called "Starved Rock," La Salle and Tonty tarried at length and built Fort St. Louis. It was an attractive and advantageous location. Here he remained more than a year, granting parcels of land to his followers and gathering a colony about him of Indians of various tribes; Shawnees from the Ohio, Abenakis from Maine, Miamis from the sources of the Kankakee, and others from far and near. The Illinois, who had fled the country in the Iroquois invasion, returned by the hundreds, until Fort St. Louis became the citadel of the territorial center of four thousand warriors and twenty thousand Indians, counting men, women, and children.



The Iroquois were held at bay, though they made bold to attack this stronghold and besieged it for six days, but withdrew discomfited. They had met their barrier in the West. All this was the magic work of La Salle, who was at once the Seigneur by right and the Ruler by common consent. La Salle was at the height of his unparalleled career. But now the scenes in the background of the explorer's stage of action are shifted. Once more the clouds gather and the shadows fall athwart his path. Le Febyre de la Barre, by royal decree, superseded Frontenac as Governor of Canada; De Moules replaced Duchesneau as Intendant; the Marquis de Seignelay succeeded Colbert as Minister of Marine and of the Colonies. The new regime was not favorable to La Salle. He was ordered to Quebec, charged with being a "crack-brained schemer," a relentless tyrant and shrewd double-dealer. The missionaries, the merchants and the officials, united to down this most successful of forest soldiers and New World statesmen, "who stands in history like a statue cast in iron, but a sad figure, an object of human interest and pity." He sailed for Paris; plead his cause before the court and petitioned for an outfit to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, in order to hold it for France and repel the claims of Spain. His address and arguments won the day. With four ships and a hundred soldiers, besides mechanics, laborers, adventurers and "volunteer gentlemen," he sailed for the Gulf of Mexico. The intrepid champion of the extension of France had literally taken "arms against a sea of troubles." The little fleet lost its bearings and once in the wide expanse of the chartless

gulf, was unable amid the confusion of lagoons and inlets to find the mouth of the Colbert. The officers of the ships quarrelled with La Salle, many of the men deserted, and in one of the convoys sailed back to France; two of the ships were wrecked. In a sheltered harbor of the bay of St. Louis, now Matagorda Bay, La Salle found a barren retreat for such of the company as remained faithful to his leadership. The hapless colony amid misery, poverty, disease and untold dangers, for three years, groped about for the site of their search. Twice they set out to trace their way across the country to Quebec, each time to return more perplexed than ever, to their desolate haven on the beach of the bay. Treachery and murder were rife and on a dreary March day of 1687, La Salle was foully shot by one of the desperate miscreants of his party. Thus perished "one of the most remarkable explorers whose names live in history." He had added the best part of a continent to the French crown. Could the empire of France retain it? La Salle had followed the waterline from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico and made secure that line by the chain of French forts. But what of the previous sovereignty of Spain?

In the earlier pages of our narrative we alluded to the theory and principles of title by discovery, governing the nations. First, as to the papal decree of demarcation. As the lawyers would say, it seems to have proven a "vain and futile" decision against public sentiment, public sentiment in this case being the general opinion of the nations, other than Spain and Portugal, though these same other nations were in



ecclesiastical affairs faithful devotees of the Roman pontiff. The Christian people yielded to the Holy Father in questions touching the safety of their souls, but concerning the acquisition of real estate personal selfishness was paramount to spiritual supremacy. The Pope's decree was ignored. Concerning the right of discovery, we found that it prevailed against all "unchristian" occupants of the lands found. But to what extent was it absolute as to all other, earlier or later discoveries? One of the ablest and clearest discussions of this subject is the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall in the case of Johnson against McIntosh, wherein the learned Judge says:

"On the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire. Its vast extent offered an ample field to the ambition and enterprise of all; and the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people over whom the superior genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy. The potentates of the old world found no difficulty in convincing themselves that they made ample compensation to the inhabitants of the new, by bestowing on them civilization and Christianity, in exchange for unlimited independence. But, as they were all in pursuit of nearly the same object, it was necessary, in order to avoid conflicting settlements, and consequent war with each other, to establish a principle, which all should acknowledge as the law by which the right of acquisition, which they all asserted, should be regulated as between themselves. This principle was, that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession.

"Those relations which were to exist between the discoverer and the natives, were to be regulated by themselves. The rights thus acquired being exclusive, no other power could interpose between them."

All authorities agree that discovery must be consummated, that is, followed up, by possession and use.

Chancellor Kent in his Commentaries on Law calls discovery alone "An imperfect title," and says: "Mere transient discovery amounted to nothing, unless followed in a reasonable time by occupancy and settlement, more or less permanent under the sanction of the state." Sir Robert Phillimore, in his Commentaries upon International Law, says: "Discovery, use and settlement are all ingredients of that occupation which constitutes a valid title to national acquisitions. Discovery, according to the acknowledged practice of nations \* \* \* furnishes an *inchoate* title to possession in the discoverer. But the discoverer must either, in the first instance, be fortified by authority and by a commission from the state of which he is a member, or his discovery must be subsequently adopted by that state. Continuous use is an indispensable element of occupation properly so called. The mere erection of crosses, land marks, and inscriptions is ineffectual for acquiring or maintaining an exclusive title to a country of which no real use is made."

Two perplexing questions arise concerning the rights of discovery; first, what length of time must the discovering nation remain in occupancy in order to obtain secure title to the land discovered; and, second, what means are to be employed in settling the claims, through discovery, of rival nations to the same country or in adjusting the disputed boundaries between contiguous territories, respectively discovered by different nations? Or, in the latter case, how determine the extent of the territory claimed by discovery? These questions gave the national diplomats and the international lawyers much field for discussion and dispute. We meet

them later on. Meantime, it suffices to note that Spain, though the first to discover and explore the Mississippi basin, took quick ticket of leave. She went and saw, but did not stay, much less settle. Her title by discovery was short-lived. She left settlements in Florida and maintained her title as to that territory, yet to be defined, and she still retained a title, more or less vague, to the vast territory west of the Mississippi and east of the Pacific, the shores of which she was the first to navigate. La Salle then had cemented the seizure of the land he had traversed by the establishment of trading and military posts, which was notice to all the world that France had come not only to take but to keep. Ohio, which had been Spanish soil, by virtue of earlier discoveries, now certainly passed to France, and the banner of the Bourbons floated over the land between the Beautiful River and the Great Lakes.



CHAPTER VII.  
THE INDIAN TRIBES OF OHIO



**T**HUS far, we have geographically, ethnologically and historically circled about the territory that will constitute Ohio. We have purposely taken this circumambient course that the reader, at the outset, might obtain the proper foundation and background for a clear understanding of the events that shall follow.

Long before Ohio was entered by the white man, either as a voyager or a sojourner, it was the habitation of the Red Man, and indeed was a favorite field for his occupancy and the arena for many of his most illustrious and prolonged activities. The geography of Ohio was greatly in its favor, lying as it does midway between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River; both these waterways, as we have seen, being the avenues of travel between the east and west, the northeast and the southwest. The peculiarity of the topography of Ohio also added to the advantageousness of its situation, for a watershed, a low, flat ridge, called the "divide," traverses the state in an irregular diagonal line from the middle of the western boundary, now Mercer and Darke counties, to near the northeast section, now Trumbull County. This intervening elevation, varying in height from one hundred to twelve hundred feet above the sea level, makes two drainage basins of the state. Both these basins were amply provided with ever-flowing streams, for it must be remembered that in the early days before the country was denuded of the forests and before artificial conditions changed their natural flow, these streams for the most part, were navigable for canoes from their sources to their outlets. In the northern basin, emptying into Lake

Erie, are the Cuyahoga; the Huron; the Vermillion; the Sandusky, and the Maumee; the latter formed by the juncture of the rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary's. In the southern basin flowing into the Ohio are the Muskingum, formed at Coshocton by the Walhonding and the Tuscarawas; the Hocking; the Scioto; Little Miami; and the Great or Big Miami;

“And the pleasant water courses,  
You could trace them through the valley,  
By the rushing in the spring time,  
By the alders in the summer,  
By the white fog in the autumn,  
By the black line in the winter.”

From the head sources of the corresponding northern and southern streams were, in many instances, short portages over which the traveler in the primitive pioneer days could easily transport his birch-bark boat and his baggage packs. Many curious geologic and physical features, as well as historic incidents, grow out of this famous “divide.” One is worthy of passing note. The ridge passes through Richland County; in Springfield Township, only a half mile apart, the Palmer Springs are located, the insignificant but veritable headwaters of the Sandusky, and also a little pond or lake from which the Mohican, a branch of the Muskingum, takes its source. Midway between these sources, on a little crest of ground, is a farmer's spacious barn, so placed that when the down-pouring waters leave its peaked roof, the flow from one side runs off to the Sandusky and that from the other side finds its way to the Mohican. Literally, therefore, as the eloquent Garfield once related in an address, using



the fact just stated, "a little bird standing on the ridge of that barn, can by the flutter of its tiny wings cast a drop of rain into the Gulf of St. Lawrence or the Gulf of Mexico."

When the European explorers landed upon the coast of this continent, they found the country inhabited by a race, black-haired and copper-colored, attired mostly in the garb of nature and living the life of a savage. The ethnologist placed him about midway between extreme barbarism and semi-civilization, in the transition period from the flint to the stone age, for he chipped out flint instruments and wrought polished stone implements for use in his domestic life, and for weapons in war and the chase. Sir John Lubbock would place the Indian in the Neo-lithic Age for he had not learned the use of metals. These people Columbus named "Indians," because he mistook them for the natives of the Oriental India, the land he supposed he had reached. Concerning these "children of the forest," an overwhelming library of literature has been produced. The ethnologist has exhausted the methods of research to learn the origin and antiquity of these people and the causes of their diversification. For more than half a century the United States government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Department of Ethnology, has investigated and studied the American Indian. The ablest and most distinguished scholars have devoted their lives to the subject, and elaborate, voluminous and learned reports bespeak the value and success of their labor. The fascination of this theme is so alluring that to attempt an entry on the threshold of the topic is to be swept into a bewildering but

delightful maze of legend, semi-history and romance. We deal only with so much of the historic phase of these people as is pertinent to our narrative. Wherever the white man penetrated into the American interior from the Pacific to the Atlantic he found the isolated wigwam or village settlement of the Aborigine who adapted himself to his environment of climate, and conditions of sustenance as offered by soil, forest, plain, mountain, valley, lake or river. The Indian was the partner of nature and the two lived in harmonious and close amity wheresoever fortune made them companions. The variety of the Indian was almost infinite. It has been estimated that at the period of the discovery of America, the native population north of Mexico and south of the region of the Eskimo, whom we omit from our consideration, was probably not less than four hundred thousand. Ethnologists have been able to classify them into some sixty stock races or chief linguistic and geographical divisions, comprising three hundred and fifty or more distinct nations, each having its own peculiar dialect. These separate nations or tribes were sub-divided again into clans and bands. While all retained certain characteristics in common, the separate nations differed in tribal customs, moral and mental status, social habits, political and religious ideas, language, legendary lore, and in sedentary or nomadic proclivities. Their shifting nature, crude systems of centralization, continual wars, temporary confederacies, alliances and dispersions, merging of bands and mingling of clans, defy the historian and confound the scientist. The subject is rendered more difficult and confusing because

of the fact that these people prior to the invasion of the European had no written language. The only native Indian alphabet is the Cherokee, a syllabary invented early in the nineteenth century by a half-blood member of that tribe and so well adapted to its purpose that it attained a general use among the Cherokees. Within more recent years, tribesmen with the aid of American scholars have reduced to written form the languages of the Shawnees, Senecas, Dakotahs, Chippewas, Creeks, Choctaws and other nations and periodicals are now issued in several of the Indian tongues. The early missionaries—notably John Eliot, “the Apostle to the Indians”—contrived a printed and written literature in the form of the Roman alphabet for some of the New England tribes, and Zeisberger, the first missionary to the Ohio Indians, composed a spelling book in the Delaware language. A few tribes, in early times, made attempts at recording something of their history and native traditions by means of pictographs, rude primitive art drawings on the rocks, bark of trees and skins of animals. Thus wrought Hiawatha:

“From his pouch he took his colors,  
Took his paints of different colors,  
On the smooth bark of a birch tree  
Painted many shapes and figures,  
Wonderful and mystic figures,  
And each figure had a meaning,  
Each some word or thought suggested.”

The leading stock-races and their divisions are variously classed and stated by different students of American ethnology, but it is adequate for our purpose

if we briefly examine a few of the chief groups, as determined by the United States Bureau of Ethnology. The Indians east of the Mississippi may be divided into three great families, the principal or largest of which is the Algonkin, also spelled Algonquin. And here it might be stated for the benefit of some of our readers, that by a "family" or group we mean the parent stem of a race, the separate branches or tribes of which have kindred but more or less dissimilar languages, all derived however from the original family stock; such for example, among modern European nations are the Romance peoples, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, each having a distinct language but all evolved from the parent Latin or Roman. The vast Algonquin family group embraced tribes extending from Hudson Bay on the north to the Carolinas on the south, from the Atlantic on the east to the Mississippi and Lake Winnipeg on the west. It must be borne in mind, however, that by no means did all the tribes in this territory named, belong to the Algonquins—but rather is it meant that the Algonquin tribes chiefly occupied the territory designated. The Algonquins, numbering a fourth and possibly a third of the entire Indian population, included practically all the New England tribes; the Mohegans—or Mohicans—on Lower Hudson; the tribes about the Gulf of St. Lawrence and north of the Ottawa and Lakes Huron and Superior and mainly those in the Northwest Territory; also Kentucky and the Virginias. The Iroquois family lay in the eastern center of this Algonquin domain "like a large island in a vast sea." The Hurons, or Wyandots, Neuters, Eries and Andastes, belonged to the Iroquois stock as

did the southern tribe of Cherokees, one of the most powerful and prominent nations of the Indian race. The motley confederacy of the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles and lesser tribes within the same limits, south of the Algonquins and in the states, touching the Mexican gulf, constituted the group known as the Kuskhogeian. Immediately west of the Mississippi, from the Arkansas to the headwaters of the Missouri and west, part way to the Rocky Mountains, was the Siouan group. Beyond the latter, from southern Texas to Montana and reaching to the Pacific, lay the Shoshonean and other lesser families. It is readily seen that it is quite impossible to fix the tribal boundaries with any degree of exactness. Within the territories outlined, scattered here and there, were located the fifty or more families which we have not mentioned.

The twilight of Ohio history reveals to us the Red Men of Long Ago. Like tawdry attired phantoms, we dimly see them stealthily flitting along the warpath, beneath the shadows of the primeval forest; or like the "songless Gondolier" silently and sullenly driving their canoes, under the over-arching branches, upon the noiseless stream; and then suddenly the war-whoops break the solitude and the crackling flames flash athwart the darkness and envelop the agonizing form of a burning victim; while the brutal torturers rend the air with hideous shouts and with fiendish grimaces and satyric contortions exult over the grewsome scene. Such are the first glimpses granted us of the "guileless children of the forest," in the pages of the *Relations*. The Ohio Indian was no better and

no worse than his brother of far-away forest, river and lake, but he was destined to enact a most important and conspicuous role in the subsequent history of his race. In Ohio, as no where else, he was to desperately contend for his hunting ground and his wigwam; in Ohio he was to shed in profusion but in vain his best blood for the preservation of his race. It was in the early years of the seventeenth century, three hundred years ago, that the Jesuits in their *Relations* introduced us to the Eries, who occupied the most of the territory now known as Ohio. The terrible story of their conquest and dispersion by the Iroquois, we have already related. The Indian history of Ohio is then continued in the incidents of the later invasion by the Iroquois of the country of the Illinois, when on their way through Ohio the conquerors made alliance with the Miamis and then after overwhelming their enemy, on their return, made war on their recent allies.

The Miamis played a large part in Ohio history. They belonged to the Algonquin family and were usually designated by early writers as Twightwees, "the cry of the crane." When first known they were divided into six bands, Piankashaw, Wea, Pepicokia, Kilatika, Mengakonkia and Atchatchakangouen. The first two of these bands became practically independent tribes and figure largely in Ohio pioneer days; the other four bands named seem to have early disappeared. The French explorers found the Miamis in the section later known as Wisconsin, Lower Michigan, Northern Illinois and Indiana. La Salle found them on the St. Joseph, also called the Miami, and on the Wabash, whence they extended into western Ohio, giving their



tribe name to three rivers, the "Miami of the Lakes," better known as the Maumee, and the two Miamis distinguished as the Big Miami and the Little Miami. Little Turtle, their famous chief, said: "My fathers kindled the first fire at Detroit; thence they extended their lines to the head waters of the Scioto; thence to its mouth; thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash and thence to Chicago over Lake Michigan." This country they held until the peace of 1763, when they mainly withdrew to the Wabash. The Miamis were never a very populous tribe, but were above the average of their race in intelligence and character. According to the reports of the French explorers the Miamis were noticeable for polite manners, mild disposition, and "their respect for and perfect obedience to their chiefs, who had greater authority than those of the other Algonquin tribes." They were great land-travelers, rather than expert canoemen. Their cabins were well furnished and their women very "dressy," while the men "used scarcely any covering and were tatooed all over the body."

The Wyandots, often written Wyandotte, called by the French Wendats, were the Tionontati or Tobacco tribe which we saw dispersed by the Iroquois in their war against the Hurons, to whom the Wyandots were kindred, and hence belonged originally to the Iroquois stock. The Wyandots who survived the terrible Iroquois invasion, still pursued by the Iroquois, continued their flight to Georgian Bay and Michilimackinac—Mackinac. Even here their relentless enemies would not let them enjoy "the fertile lands, good hunting and abundant fishing." The Wyandots

continued westward to Green Bay, where they came in contact with the Sioux, whose hostile treatment drove them back to their late retreats at Mackinac and Georgian Bay localities, by this time free from the Iroquois invaders. Bands of the Wyandots now drifted to the western end of Lake Erie, the vicinity of their former homes and many of them settled on the Maumee and greater numbers still upon the Sandusky.

The Ottawas, relatives, and generally warm friends of the Wyandots, were also of the Algonquin family and inhabited the banks of the Canadian Ottawa River, the great highway of travel for the French. The Iroquois wars caused migrations of the Ottawas similar to those of the Wyandots. The Ottawas, like the Hurons, sought the protection of the Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes and Menominees. Both these exiled tribes, the Hurons and the Ottawas, were driven as the Wyandots had been, by the Sioux back upon their migratory route. Scattering bands of them found lodgment on the Maumee and its southern branch which they named from their tribe, the Ottawa, since known as the Auglaize. It was the frequent custom of the Indians to give the name of their tribe to the river upon whose banks they might dwell. As the tribes were migratory the river names might change, and different rivers if tenanted by members of the same tribe might receive the same name; thus there were two Ottawa rivers and two Miamis.

The Delaware confederacy, formerly the most important of the Algonquin stock, occupied the center basin of the Delaware River. They called themselves



Lenape, or Leni-Lenape, meaning "real men" or "native, genuine men," in modern parlance, "the real thing." The French called them Loups, "wolves." They claimed to be the progenitors of the Algonquins and by virtue of their admitted priority in rank, and because occupying the central home territory, from which the other nations of the group had diverged, the Delawares sat at the head of the council circle and were accorded by all the Algonquin tribes the respectful title of "Grandfather." They in turn called the other kindred tribes "grandchildren." The Delaware confederacy was composed of several nations, each having its own dialect and territory. The Leni-Lenape were a remarkable people, having a rich and romantic legendary lore of their own with an eventful history in connection with the white race. They produced many noted chiefs, among whom was the famous Tammany, the patron saint of that political society, which adopted his name.

The Delawares were a peaceable and well-disposed people and from the outset affiliated on friendly terms with the Swedes, the Dutch and the Quakers. Somewhere in the later period of the Iroquois supremacy, probably about 1700, these conquerors brought the Delawares into subjugation and assumed complete dominion over them, making them "women" or as they expressed it "put petticoats on their men," and compelled them to do menial service like the squaws. The Long House exacted tribute from the Delawares and deprived them of all right to make war, change their habitation, or dispose of their land, without the consent of the haughty sovereignty of the Five Nations,

who also about this time (1712) greatly augmented their power by the accession to their confederacy of the Tuscarawas or Tuscarora tribe, which fled north from their home on the headwaters of the Roanoke where they had been woefully defeated and whence they had been driven in a sanguinary war with the English settlers. The Tuscarawas were of the Iroquois stock and hence returned to their own and were assigned a district in the south part of the Oneida territory though they were not received into complete equality by the Long House, hereafter to be known as the Six Nations.

Bands of the Tuscarawas drifted into Ohio, settling in the eastern part and giving their name to the Tuscarawas river. Sometime after the beginning of their vassalage, bands of the Delawares, and especially the members of the Munsee, or Wolf, tribe, drifted across the Alleghanies into the Ohio country, settling in several villages on the Muskingum and the Tuscarawas. At a still later date, a detached band of the Senecas, leaving the quarters of the Long House, moved to the upper Ohio. They were known as the Mingoes, and settled Mingo Town, and also set up villages on the headwaters of the Scioto and the Sandusky. They were few in number, but active and dominant in spirit for the blood of the Iroquois coursed in their veins. They were often spoken of as the "Senecas of the Sandusky." The Mingoes were regarded by some authorities as belonging to the Cayuga nation rather than the Seneca. But, as a matter of fact, the Mingoes—the term means "stealthy or treacherous"—were stragglers or outlaws, chiefly from the Cayugas and Senecas.

Between the Miami settlements on the rivers of that name and the Delawares on the rivers in eastern Ohio, lay the Scioto Valley. This from time immemorial was the favorite ground of the heroic and historic Shawnees.

The Shawnees, as we proceed, will command much of our attention. They too were of Algonquin stock and were called *Satanas* by the Iroquois, *Chaouanons* by the French, and *Shawanees*, *Shawanos*, *Shawnees* and similarly spelled names by the English. We shall employ the simplest form, *Shawnee*. The *Relations* make frequent mention of this tribe, showing its members were in widely separated parts of the country previous to 1700. We already noted that the Iroquois, who hated and not a little feared them, warned (1669) La Salle of the ferocity of the Shawnees, then located on the upper Ohio. Ten years later (1680) on their return from the Illinois to their homes, it is recorded that the warriors of the Five Nations played havoc with the Shawnees in the settlements of the latter in southern Ohio. The Shawnees were doubtless among the tribes met by Captain John Smith and his colony on the banks of the James. One of the first definite mentions of them is by De Laet in 1632, who places them at that date on the Delaware. Marquette speaks of meeting them during his missionary travels in the far northwest. They were a party to the famous Penn Treaty held under the great elm in 1682, and for many years thereafter were the custodians of a parchment copy of that treaty, thus evidencing their prominence in that event; "The only treaty," says Voltaire, "never ratified by an oath and never broken;"

for "not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian," is the testimony of Bancroft. Restless and fearless, wary, warlike and nomadic, they were the vagrants of the trackless forest, the aboriginal American Arabs, ever seeking new fields for conquest and opportunity. "At the period when western Virginia began to see the light of dawning civilization, they (Shawnees) were the possessors of that wilderness garden, the Scioto Valley, occupying the territory as far west as the Little Miami and head-rivers, having been invited thither by the Wyandots, at the instigation of the French. Wanderers as are all savages, this tribe, of all their family or race, bears off the palm for restlessness as well as undying hostility to the whites. From the waters of the northern lakes to the sandy beach washed by the temperate tides of the Mexican Gulf—from the Valley of the Susquehanna to the gloomy cottonwood forests of the Mississippi—in forests grand and gloomy with the stately growth of ages—in the prairie, blossoming with beauty, and fragrant with the breath of a thousand sweets—by mountain torrents, or shaded springs, or widespread plains—the Shawnee sought the turkey, the deer, and the bison; and, almost from the landing of the whites at Jamestown, his favorite game was the cunning and avaricious pale-face."

The Shawnee realized and reveled in his prowess; proud to a superlative degree, haughty and sagacious, he regarded himself as superior to his fellow-stock in all the natural and acquired qualities of the Indian. The Shawnees boasted in a tradition "that the Master of Life, the Creator Himself, the originator of all peoples

was an Indian. He made the Shawnees before any other human race. They, the Shawnees, sprang, from his brain. He gave them all the knowledge he himself possessed and placed them upon the great island (America) and all the other red people descended from the Shawnees. After the Creator had made the Shawnees, he made the French and English out of his breast, the Dutch out of his feet, and the 'Long Knives' (Americans) out of his hands." All these inferior races of men he made and placed beyond the "Stinking Lake;" that is the Atlantic Ocean. A sifting of the varied statements, more or less reliable, leads to the conclusion that, at the beginning of historic times in America, the Shawnees, a populous and aggressive tribe, were chiefly located in the valleys of the Tennessee and the Cumberland, whence bands of them wandered in all directions. They took permanent residence in Ohio, first settling along the Scioto, and later in the Miami Valley, in the early part of the eighteenth century. These Ohio Shawnees, it is generally claimed, were emigrants from the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida, having been expelled from the sunny South by the Seminoles, Cherokees and other southern tribes to whom the querulous and imperious disposition of the Shawnees had become unbearable. Certain it is that the Shawnees for a hundred and fifty years maintained a settlement, known as Shawnee-town, at the mouth of the Scioto.

Many are the poetic myths and symbolic traditions associated with the Shawnees. One of the historians of Pickaway County, Mr. Alfred Williams, cites the Shawnee account of the origin of the Piqua tribe, a

small subdivision of the nation living on the Upper Scioto. Once upon a time the whole Shawnee tribe were assembled at a solemn religious feast. They were all seated around a large fire, which having nearly burnt down a great puffing and blowing was suddenly observed among the ashes, when behold! a man of majestic form and god-like mien issued forth from the ashes. Hence the name Piqua, "a man risen from the ashes." This was the progenitor of the Piqua tribe. Mr. Williams fittingly observes: "This Indian tradition certainly equals in interest and dignity any of those related of the gods and heroes of ancient Greece, and indicates that the race possessed a poetic fancy, joined to such religious conceptions as would in course of time have produced a sublime and beautiful mythology."

We have thus mentioned these Indian tribes, or representatives of tribes, inhabiting Ohio at the beginning of the eighteenth century and have designated in the main the localities they occupied at that time; these relative positions will be more or less changed as our history proceeds. There were no native Ohio Indian tribes; that is, all were migrants from other portions of the country. The extent of their numbers, at the time in question, is difficult to accurately ascertain. From statements of early authorities it is reckoned that the Indian population of Ohio must have ranged from twelve to fifteen thousand, as the total force of fighting braves numbered from twenty-five hundred to three thousand, of whom the Miamis mustered nearly a third. These figures probably did not vary greatly at any time until Ohio became a



state. Many readers have been misled by the often quoted statement of Schoolcraft in his extensive work on the Indians wherein he says, "From some data that have been employed, it is doubtful whether an area of less than fifty thousand acres, left in the forest state, is more than sufficient to sustain by the chase a single hunter." According to this premise the area of Ohio would have supported scarcely more than five hundred Indians. But Schoolcraft's assertion presupposes the hunter to have been an abject savage, living solely on wild beasts by the chase. The Ohio Indian, at the time under consideration, was much above the lowest stage of primitive man. He was at worst only a semi-savage, for he cultivated fields of corn, called maize, and to a slight extent other products of the soil, and Professor Foster, in his "Pre-historic Races," claims that the product of a single acre, in maize, would furnish rations to sustain, in their simple life, from one hundred and twenty to two hundred and forty able bodied men. The French population of Canada at this same date was about fifteen thousand, while the combined colonists of New England and New York numbered ten times that many, and the English colonists *in toto* were between three and four hundred thousand.

Such was the Ohio Indian about the year 1700. But it must not be forgotten that the Iroquois claimed, with other territory, possession of Ohio by right of conquest. They had conquered all the tribes represented in Ohio, regarding the Delawares and the Shawnees therein as mere "tenants," and the other tribes as occupants by intrusion or sufferance.

This question of the supremacy of the Iroquois confederacy over the Ohio tribes, and other nations, farther west and south, as noted by Rufus King in his concise history of Ohio, published in the American Commonwealth series, led to serious international disputes between France and England and also to interesting "political-historical controversies" among historical students. As Mr. King states, Governors Thomas Pownall, Massachusetts, Cadwallader Colden, New York and DeWitt Clinton, New York, also Sir William Johnson and Benjamin Franklin, regarded the rights of the Five Nations to all the hunting grounds of the Ohio Valley, "as fairly established by their conquest in subduing the Shawnees, Delawares, Twightwees (Miami), and Illinois, as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Ryswick in 1697." DeWitt Clinton, not only one of the foremost political and official figures, but also one of the most accomplished and scholarly students of his time, delivered a discourse before the New York Historical Society in December 1811, in which he thoroughly reviews the history of the Iroquois confederacy and briefly recites the record of their conquests. Of these "Romans of the Western World, who composed a Federal Republic," Mr. Clinton says, "It is well authenticated that since that memorable era,"—the American invasion by the Europeans—"they, (the Iroquois) exterminated the nations of the Eries or Erigas, on the south side of Lake Erie. They nearly extirpated the Andastes and the Chaouanons (Shawnees); they conquered the Hurons and drove them and their allies, the Ottawas, among the Sioux, on the headwaters of the Mississippi, where



they separated themselves in bands and proclaimed, wherever they went, the terror of the Iroquois. They also subdued the Illinois, the Miamis, the Algonkins, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and several tribes of the Abenakis. In a word, the confederates were, with few exceptions the conquerors and masters of all the Indian nations east of the Mississippi." Mr. Clinton further shows that "By the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, it was stipulated 'that the subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others, shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations or cantons subject to the dominion of Great Britain.'" Mr. Clinton then observes: "As between France and England the confederates were, therefore, to be considered as the subjects of the latter and of course the British dominion was co-extensive with the rightful territory of the five cantons, it then became the policy of France to diminish, and that of England to enlarge this territory. But notwithstanding the confusion which has grown out of these clashing interests and contradictory representations, it is not perhaps very far from the truth to pronounce, that the Five Nations were entitled by patrimony or conquest to all the territory in the United States and in Canada, not occupied by the Creeks, the Cherokees, and the other southern Indians, by the Sioux, the Kinisteneaux, and the Chippewas; and by the English and French, as far west as the Mississippi and Lake Winnipeg, as far northwest as the waters which unite this lake and Hudson's Bay, and as far north as Hudson's Bay and Labrador."

In 1838, William Henry Harrison, a close student of western history and, as already noted, particularly that pertaining to the Ohio Indians, delivered a discourse, in Cincinnati, before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, in which he repudiated the alleged Iroquois conquests and especially controverted the statements of DeWitt Clinton concerning the western invasions and subjugations by the Five Nations. Mr. Harrison's address is a carefully prepared lecture, adorned with many classical allusions, characteristic of the literary productions of its author. He refused to accept the authority of Colden's History of the Iroquois, a book which he admits he never saw, deriving his knowledge thereof, from excerpts found in other works. In alluding to the discussion entered into "with much ardor by the late DeWitt Clinton," he flatly denies the declarations of the latter, saying, "the proposition against which I contend, asserts the right of, at the period (previous to white occupation of Ohio) of which I am speaking, of all the country watered by the Ohio, to the Iroquois or Six Nations, in consideration of their having conquered the tribes which originally possessed it." Mr. Harrison then continues, "I have nothing to do, at this time, with the conquests in other directions, but I shall endeavor to prove that their alleged subjugation of the north-western tribes rests upon no competent authority; and that the favorite region which we now call our own (Ohio) as well as that possessed by our immediate contiguous western sisters, has been for many centuries as it now is,

'The land of the free and the home of the brave.'"

We cannot, of course, follow the original but readable argument of Mr. Harrison, who protests that the accounts of the Iroquois conquests rest solely on the statements of the conquerors themselves, unsupported by other credible testimony, remarking, "The tribes resident within the bounds of this state, when the first white settlement commenced, were the Wyandots, Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, a remnant of the Mohicans (who had united themselves with the Delawares), and a band of the Ottawas. There may also have been, at this time, some bands from the Seneca and Tuscarawas tribes of the Iroquois or Six Nations, remaining in the northern part of the state. But whether resident or not, the country for some distance west of the Pennsylvania line certainly belonged to them. From this, their western boundary (wherever it might be, but certainly east of the Scioto), the claims of the Miamis and Wyandots commenced. The claims of the latter were very limited, and can not well be admitted to extend further south than the dividing ridge between the waters of the Scioto and Sandusky Rivers, nor further west than the Auglaise; whilst the Miamis and their kindred tribes are conceived to be the just proprietors of all the remaining part of the country northwest of the Ohio, and south of the southerly bend of Lake Michigan and the Illinois River."

In the opinion of Mr. Harrison, the Miamis possessed "an indomitable valor" with which the Iroquois could not have successfully coped, for the Miami nation, or rather confederacy, possessed "a larger number of warriors, at that period (date of alleged Iroquois conquests), than could be furnished by any

of the aboriginal nations of North America, before or since." Mr. Harrison even casts doubt on the account of the subjugation of the Delawares by the Iroquois, but admits the latter penetrated a portion of Ohio. He says, "The departure of the Wyandots gave the long-wished-for opportunity to the Iroquois to advance into Ohio. And that they did advance as far as the Sandusky, either at that period or some time after, is admitted. But there is no evidence whatever, to show that they made a conquest of the Miamis, other than their own assertions, and that of the British agents, residing among them, who obtained their information from the Indians themselves. Whilst the want of such acknowledgments on the part of the Miamis, a number of facts susceptible of proof, and with all the inconsistencies and, indeed, palpable absurdities, with which the Iroquois accounts abound, form such a mass of testimony, positive, negative, and circumstantial, as should, I think leave no reasonable doubt that the pretensions of the latter, to the conquest of the country from the Scioto to the Mississippi, are entirely groundless." Mr. Harrison seems to regard his contention as clinched by his assertion that "At the treaty of Greenville, and at all the subsequent treaties, made for the extinguishment of their title to the extensive tract which I have assigned to them above, no suggestion was made of any claim of the Iroquois to any part; and there were, upon most of these occasions, those present, who would have eagerly embraced the opportunity to disparage the character of the Miamis, by exhibiting these as a conquered and degraded people. The Iroquois were not repre-

sented at the treaty of Greenville, but previously to its being held, they took care to inform General Wayne, that the Delawares were their subjects—that they had conquered them and put petticoats upon them. But neither claimed to have conquered the Miamis, nor to have any title to any part of the country in the occupancy of the latter.” We have purposely made a rather lengthy presentation of the Clinton-Harrison controversy as it involves a question of unusual importance in Ohio Indian history, and as Mr. Harrison has been given great credence as high and first hand authority on Ohio Indians because of his intimate personal relations with them. But in this controversy Mr. Harrison is unquestionably in gross error. He was doubtless unduly biased by his admiration for the Ohio Indians and he was unpossessed of the evidence which easily could have dislodged him from his assumed position. That the Iroquois swept over and subdued the Ohio tribes and those west, as far as the Mississippi, is now a scarcely less firmly established fact than Wayne’s victory at Fallen Timber in which Harrison so gallantly participated.

Indeed in support of the fact of the Iroquois conquests in the Ohio country and the far West we have the accumulative testimony of General Lewis Cass, a most authentic student of western Indian history, in his address delivered (1829) before the Historical Society of Michigan; also the testimony of Henry R. Schoolcraft the distinguished American ethnologist, who for some twenty years, beginning in 1820, was the superintendent of Indian affairs in the West for the United States government. There is no higher author-

ity on the history and customs of the American Indians than Mr. Schoolcraft, and his publications, issued by the National Bureau of Ethnology, on those subjects exceed in extent the writings of any other author. In his discourse before the Historical Society of Michigan (1830) Mr. Schoolcraft summarizes the conquests of the Iroquois "from Lake Champlain to the Illinois; to the mouth of the Hudson; to the mouth of the Ohio;" and "they pushed their war parties north to Lake Huron, by the route of Lake Simcoe and Nadowasaking, where they found and subdued the mixed tribe of the Mississagies; they passed deeper into the northern regions, and exhibited themselves, in a strong body, on the borders of Lake Superior, at a prominent point, which perpetuates their name and their defeat—Point Iroquois, at least nine hundred miles from the general seat of the Iroquois council fire at Onondaga."

The Iroquois especially valued this Ohio country as it was easy of access and prolific in game, while their own New York territory was rapidly ceasing to be good hunting ground. The northeastern part of Ohio, later the Western Reserve, was the favorite game preserve of the Long House hunters. Charlevoix, a French-Canadian historian, writing early in the eighteenth century reported that the Iroquois obtained from the country of the ancient Eries—Ohio—"apple trees with fruit of the shape of a goose's egg, and a seed that is a kind of bean. This fruit is fragrant and very delicate. It is a dwarf tree, requiring a moist, rich soil." "This," observes an Ohio writer, "can be no other than the paw-paw, abundant in southern Ohio, particularly on the river and common



in the center of the state." So the Iroquois came to Ohio for his meat and his fruit; it was his garden spot and he zealously guarded it. As already intimated, the Iroquois balance of power was the bone of contention between the English and the French.

Soon after the Dutch planted their settlement at the mouth of the Hudson, they entered into an alliance with the Five Nations, which continued without a serious break by either party until the Dutch were overcome by the English. The latter followed the Knickerbockers in the policy of amicable relationship with the Long House, nor was this friendly status broken till the days of the American Revolution. But the English-Iroquois unison intensified the French hostility towards both allies and as a counterplay the Canadians maintained a permanent working friendship with the Algonquin tribes. But in their alliance with the English, the Iroquois demanded and obtained recognition as an independent people, though occupying territory within the confines of the New York colony.





CHAPTER VIII.

INDIAN TITLES TO OHIO



THE colonial authorities of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland all early began negotiations with the tribes within or adjacent to their provinces in order to hold them steadfast to the English, one of the chief purposes of the numerous conferences being to induce the Indians to cede the lands they occupied to the English crown, receiving in exchange therefor the protection of England as against the French. At one of these councils, held in the Town Hall at Albany, 1684, before the colonial governors, Colonel Dongan of New York and Lord Howard of Virginia, "the chiefs came clothed in ragged mantles and dirty shirts, but a Roman senator could not have exhibited greater dignity or composure of manner." On this occasion the Iroquois orator declared the tribes to be "a free people uniting ourselves to what sachem we please." They wished to unite themselves to the English that they "might be protected from the French, otherwise we shall lose all the beaver and hunting." They wished the "Corlear"—the title they gave to the governor of New York—to send over the proposition to "the great sachem Charles, that lives over the great lake," viz. the Atlantic, and they gave the Corlear "two white drest deer skins" to be sent to the King that he might write his answer and put his great red seal to them. They also sent a wampum belt to the King's brother, the Duke of York.

In this conference the English acknowledged the supremacy of the Iroquois over the territory claimed by the confederacy, and over all tribes subject to the Five Nations, embracing the whole country from

the English colonies on the east to the indefinite western limits of the Iroquois conquests. This acknowledgment by the British was in pursuance of the shrewd diplomacy on the part of the English to obtain advantage not only over the French but the Indian as well.

It was the year before the Albany-Iroquois concession of English supremacy that William Penn made his first treaty with the Indians under the famous Old Elm Tree at Shackamaxon; the scene that artists have painted, poets have sung, historians portrayed and philosophers applauded. There was no specific purchase or transfer of land, only a working agreement of fair dealing. The Quaker governor unfolded the parchment writing and in eloquent and sympathetic words explained its terms, that it was a "league and chain of friendship, that should grow stronger and stronger and be kept bright and clean without rust or spot, while the waters ran down the creeks and rivers and while the sun and moon and stars endured." Penn said of the Indians: "they are a careless, merry people, yet in affairs of property strict in their dealings. In council they are deliberate, in speech short, grave and eloquent. I have never seen in Europe anything more wise, cautious and dexterous." At this council Tammany, chief of the Delawares, represented his people.

The Peace of Ryswick (1697), between France and England and other interested nations, including Spain, confirmed to the French the possession of the two great valleys she claimed by discovery, that of the St. Lawrence, with the lakes, and that of the Mississippi

"with its affluents," which embraced the Ohio. But the first move of great moment on the chess board of America, in the long pending game between France and England with the Indian tribes as pawns, was made in Albany in the summer of 1701. At this same conference twenty "sachems, chief men, captains and representatives of the Five Nations, or Cantons, \* \* \* after mature deliberation, out of a deep sense of the royal favors extended to us by the present great monarch of England, and out of many other motives, \* \* \* freely and voluntarily surrendered," delivered up and forever quit claimed, for themselves, heirs and successors, to their great lord and master, the King of England, "all right, title and interest," to their beaver hunting grounds, therein described; being in brief the land west and northwest from Albany, beginning on the northwest side of Cadaraqui (Ontario) Lake and including all the waste land between Ottawawa Lake (Lake Huron) and Swege (Erie) Lake, and "runs till it butts upon the Twitchwicks (Miamis) and is bounded on the right hand (west) by a place called Quadage (Chicago), containing in length about 800 miles and in breadth 400 miles, including "the country where the beavers, the deers, elks and such beasts keep and the place called Tieugsachrondio, *alias* Fort de Tret (Detroit) and so runs around the lake of Swege (Erie) to a place called Oniadarondaquet (Irondequoit), which is about twenty miles from the Sinnekes (Seneca's) Castle."

This area, practically all the land between the Ottawa River, the Great Lakes and a strip between the southern end of Lake Michigan and western end of Lake

Erie, the Five Nations in this "deed" claimed to own by right of conquest in "fair war." The grantors reserved for themselves, heirs and descendants forever "free hunting" expecting therein "to be protected by the Crown of England." The English were accorded the "power to erect forts and castles" in the land specified. This "quit claim deed," which did not affect the territory of Ohio, created much misunderstanding, as to just what rights and powers it did confer on the English.

The Albany Treaty of 1701 has aroused among historical writers much discussion, it being claimed by many that at the conference then held no treaty was written and signed, but that there was simply "much talk" on the part of the English with no contract understanding as a conclusion. Justin Winsor in his "Narrative and Critical History of America," says: "No treaty exists by which the Iroquois transferred this conquered country [Ohio Valley and the Illinois country] to the English, but the transaction was claimed to have some sort of a registry, as expressed for instance, in a legend on Evans' map (1755), which reads; 'the Confederates (Five Nations) July 19, 1701, at Albany surrendered their beaver hunting country to the English, to be defended by them for the said Confederates, their heirs and successors forever, and the same was confirmed, September 14, 1728 [1726], when the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas surrendered their habitations from Cayahoga to Oswego and six miles inland to the same for the same use.'" The same claim is made on Mitchell's map of the same year (1755) referring to the treaty with the Iroquois at

Albany, September, 1726, by which the region west of Lake Erie and north of Erie and Ontario, as well as the belt of land from Oswego westward, was confirmed to the English.

Speaking of this same treaty, George Bancroft in his "History of the United States," says: "That in 1701, at the opening of the war of the Spanish succession, the chiefs of the Mohawks and the Oneidas had appeared in Albany; and the English commissioners, who could produce no treaty yet made a minute in their books of entry that the Mohawks and Oneidas had placed their hunting grounds under the protection of the English." He also speaks of this same treaty, "But as a treaty of which no record existed could hardly be cited as a surrender of lands, it was the object of Burnett to obtain a confirmation of this grant. Accordingly, in the treaty concluded at Albany, in September, 1726, the cession of the Iroquois country west of Lake Erie, and north of Erie and Ontario, was confirmed," etc.

Mr. Winsor and Mr. Bancroft, it will thus be seen, evidently were of the opinion that no documentary treaty of 1701 existed. They seemed to have overlooked the fact that in the series of official publications known as "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," published in 1854, will be found the treaty in question, as it was written in full at the time of its execution, with the fac-similes of the signatures of the chiefs of the Five Nations and the signatures of ten or more of the representatives of the New York colony. The French of course utterly ignored this document. But with the English

it was a strong blow upon the entering wedge for Indian dispossession.

As a sort of an intermission divertisement between the treaty acts, Colonel Peter Schuyler (in 1709) took four Mohawk chieftains to England, as an exhibit, "to play upon the imagination of Queen Anne," to whom they were presented with elaborate and imposing ceremonies. The interest they aroused helped the colonists to gain men and ships with which they could carry on the contest against the Canadian-French.

This picturesque incident of the visit to London of the Mohawk chiefs, afforded material to Addison for one of the raciest essays in his *Spectator*. He pretends to quote at some length, observations made by one of the savage kings, upon the people and scenes of London. These reflections are not only unique but replete with humor and sarcasm and witty comments on the English foibles of the times. This essay smacks of Addison's keen intellect rather than a barbarian intelligence. The joke was given away by Dean Swift, who, in a letter to a friend, written the day after the publication of Addison's essay, says, the article "was made of a noble hint I gave him long ago for his *Tatler*, about an Indian, supposed to write his travels in England. I repent he ever had it. I intended to have written a book on that subject. I believe he has spent it all in one paper and all the under hints there are mine too." What a pity that Addison's borrowed jest spoiled a proposed monograph on the adventures of an Indian king in "merrie Englande," written by the inimitable author of *Gulliver's Travels*.



As a companion scenic event to the journey of the Mohawk chiefs to London and the ceremonial presentation of the plumed and painted warriors to the Queen's Court, Sir Alexander Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, (in 1716) led his rollicking cavalcade of sixty persons, "gentlemen, rangers, Indians and servants," from Williamsburg, across the Blue Ridge to the banks of the Shenandoah River, which they styled the "Euphrates." There they took possession of the "Valley of Virginia" in the name of their king, burying in a bottle the written record of their claim and the proceedings attending it. The occasion was hilariously celebrated by the imbibing of copious draughts of "Virginia wine, both red and white, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two kinds of rum, champagne, canary, cherry, punch and cider." Certainly their exploration was well drunk!! The gentry of the party perpetuated the memory and results of their *transmontane* trip by the creation of the famous order of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe."

In the year 1742 John Howard was commissioned by Governor Sir Francis Wyatt of Virginia "to make discoveries westward." With four or five others, one being John Peter Salley, who was the journalist of the party, the Virginia voyager set out from the branches of the James River and portaged across to the New River. Here they constructed a boat of withe frames covered with buffalo hides. In this they floated down stream until checked by the impassable falls. Cutting across land they found a branch of the stream, just left, that bore them on to the Ohio. Thence on their buffalo-hide convoy they were carried to the Missis-

issippi, down which the current swept them "a great way till they were surprised by about ninety men, French, Indians and Negroes," who made the adventurous party captives, conducting them to and confining them in prison at New Orleans. It was several years before they effected their release or escape and returned to Virginia. But it was an early English inspection of the lower Ohio and Mississippi.

The buffalo-skin canoe journey of Howard and the champagne stimulated expedition of Spotswood illustrate the indomitable character and convivial temperament of the Virginia pioneer. Such men were destined to lead in the conquest of an empire.

In the treaty of peace, concluded at Utrecht, 1713, between the warring nations of Europe, the immense region of the Mississippi Valley was confirmed to France as against Spain and England and a distinct article of the treaty specified the recognition of the dominion of the English over the Five Nations whom "France should not molest." But the Iroquois, jealous of their independence, were not likely to regard themselves as too severely bound by a treaty to which they were not a party.

Another Indian-English council was held at Albany in 1726 when the colonial governor of New York told the sachems of the Five Nations that under the "deed" of 1701 the English could not protect the Long House from the French but urged the tribes to "submit and give up all their hunting country to the King of England and sign a deed for it," that England could then defend them against the French and "secure to them a quiet enjoyment of their own lands." Shylock was no

shrewder in his bond deal with Bassanio and Antonio. But still the wily Iroquois were not entirely deceived. The sachems of the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas signed for themselves a "deed of trust" to King George for the country from Salmon River, New York, west to Kayahoge (Cleveland) and sixty miles to the south of this east and west line.

This "trust deed," which the Mohawks did not sign, it will be seen, took in a part of what was later to be the Ohio Western Reserve. But the Iroquois as their subsequent transactions testified, evidently did not regard the "quit claim deed" of 1701 or the "trust deed" of 1726 as yielding up "the rights of property in the land." Their simplicity in the proceedings had the ingenuousness of the "Heathen Chinee." The colonial authorities on the other hand, were well aware of the lame nature both legal and equitable of the deeds they had inveigled the sachems to sign. These yieldings of the Iroquois, it will be noticed, did not involve their claims to the Ohio lands, save as noted in the "trust" transaction. That both deeds were regarded by the tribes more or less as "Indians gifts" is evidenced by the letter in 1763 from Sir William Johnson, then English superintendent of Indian affairs in the northern department of the colonies, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, in which he says, "they—[the Six Nations]—claim by right of conquest all the country, including the Ohio, along the great ridge of Blue Mountain at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of the Kentucky River and down the same to the Ohio above the rifts; thence northerly to the south end of Lake Michigan; then

along the east shore of Michilmackinack; thence easterly along the north end of Lake Huron to Ottawa River and Island of Montreal. \* \* \* This claim to the Ohio and thence to the lakes is not in the least disputed by the Shawnees, Delawares and others, who never transacted any sales of land or other matters without their—[Iroquois]—consent."

No land holdings of the Five Nations were more surely obtained by conquest or more securely held than the country of the Ohio. Mr. Pownall in his "Administration of the Colonies," says the right of the Five Nations Confederacy to the hunting lands of Ohio by conquest they made in subduing the Shawnees, Delawares, Twightwees and Illinois may be fairly proved, as they stood possessed thereof at the Peace of Ryswick.

In a council held in the year 1744 at Lancaster, Pa., at which were present the representatives of the provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, with the delegates from the Six Nations, the Virginia commissioners told the sachems if they laid right claim to any land on the border of Virginia, the colonists would make satisfaction to the tribes. The Iroquois spokesmen, Chiefs Canassatego, Gachadow, and Tachanoontia, speaking "with strong voice and proper action," replied that they admitted the colonies had a right "to some parts of Virginia;" but as to what lies beyond the mountains, "we conquered the nations residing there, and that land, if the Virginians ever get a good right to it, it must be by us."

In this notable gathering, Conrad Weiser, the agent for Pennsylvania, and for many years one of the fore-

most diplomats in the prolonged negotiations between the colonists and the tribesmen, as well as an influential intercessory between the various tribes, acted as interpreter and mediator. The proceedings of the council lasted many days, and were noted for many interesting speeches which are reported in the published minutes of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. The Iroquois relinquished "all lands that are or shall be by his Majesty's appointment in the colony of Virginia," meaning from the Virginian frontier to the Ohio. But the Virginia colony, through the terms of its charter, claimed, as will be seen, nearly all of Ohio and most of the country west to the Mississippi. It is of record that before business was transacted in this meeting, the English commissioners gave a spread of "wine, punch, pipes and tobacco," to the sachems who "fed lustily and drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished dinner." Indeed an almost inseparable function to the "business" part of these gatherings of the colonists and the tribesmen was the convivial hospitality, in the shape of "heap fire water," tendered the aborigine guests by the pale face pioneers. Nor in these customs of entertainment were the Canadian colonists a whit behind.

But at this council the Iroquois warriors by no means lost their wits, through the unrestrained imbibing of fire water. The proceedings of the gathering lasted twelve days, and were noted for the many remarkable speeches made by the chiefs, which speeches are reported in Colden's History of the Five Nations and also in the proceedings of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. The principal orator for the Indian

delegates was Canassatego. This eloquent chief of the Onondagas was a steadfast friend of the English, and in one of his addresses to the colonial representatives, he advocated a Union among their colonies, in the following language, as interpreted by Weiser; "We have one Thing further to say, and that is, We heartily recommend Union and a good Agreement between you and our Brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict Friendship for one another, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger. Our wise Forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations; this has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and, by your observing the same Methods our wise Forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh Strength and Power; therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out one with another." This, we believe, is the first recorded public suggestion of a confederacy, made to the colonies, and it came from an Indian ten years before the same idea was proposed by Benjamin Franklin at Albany.

Thus the English colonists were insidiously casting their lines to entrap the proprietary rights of the Indians, whatever those rights might be, and were shrewdly laying their plans to circumvent the encroachments of the French. The land of promise was the country over the Alleghanies and beyond the Ohio. The English were moving forward on their frontiers, as they began in New England, with the planting of villages that were to be permanent communities of peaceful and prosperous homes with outlying and inter-



vening farms. Meanwhile the French were strengthening their boundary lines, already marked by the missionary and trading stations and military posts. By the time the Iroquois had made their dubious "trust deed" at the Albany conference, the Canadian pioneers had completed the chain of stockade defenses, planned by La Salle, and which extended from Quebec to New Orleans. These fortresses, crude to our view but sufficient for their time, were forts Frontenac at the exit of Lake Ontario; Niagara on the river uniting the latter lake and Erie; Detroit, founded by La Motte Cadillac; Ste. Marie, at the Sault Rapids; Mackinac on the waterway between lakes Huron and Michigan; Miami at the mouth of the St. Joseph; St. Louis at Starved Rock on the Illinois; and at intervals adown the Mississippi, were forts Chartres, Assumption, La Salle, Prudhomme, Rosalie, and New Orleans. Besides these military posts, were many intervening, and far-remote, settlements, which had been established or erected by 1725. The St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins and their uniting chain of great lakes had been explored and if not colonized, at least fortified. The French had possession and occupancy; they regarded the Alleghany and Appalachian ranges as the natural, and also political, western barriers of the English.

The English colonists thought otherwise and were patiently biding their time; the charter grants of the British Crown carried their territorial rights from "sea to sea" and they abated no pretensions as to the westward course of their star of empire and only halted at the mountain slopes till the propitious moment might

come, when they could scale the rugged heights and descend as conquerors into the rich valleys and plains of the Northwest. Meanwhile they were cajoling the Indians and bartering for the titles of the savages to the Ohio country, that they might more securely rivet their claims when possession should be demanded. Already many adventurous woodsmen from the Virginia, Maryland and particularly Pennsylvania and New York colonies had climbed the mountain steeps and trailed their way through the forests or paddled the streams of Ohio and the Northwest even to the shores of Superior and the banks of the Mississippi. Gordon in his *History of Pennsylvania* states that as early as the year 1740, traders from the Pennsylvania and Virginia colonies "went among the Indians on the Ohio and tributary streams, to deal for peltries." They were the English wood-rangers, exploring the interior, noting the value and "lay" of the land that they coveted and felt in time would be theirs, while trading whiskey and trinkets with the tribes for furs. These English trail-trampers were called by the eastern colonists "bushlopers" and "swampiers." They were hardy, persistent, rough in manner, but curried favor with their red skinned customers by selling their goods at less prices than were asked by the French peltry purchasers.

Ohio was the least explored and almost the last to be invaded by either of the rival white races. There were no Jesuit missions in Ohio of a permanent or independent nature. The only one deserving notice was that at Sandusky. The Jesuit *Relations* record that Father Armand de la Richardie was deputed in



1728 to establish a permanent mission at Detroit. The Recollet order was already in evidence there and to avoid conflict with it, Richardie located his mission across the river, opposite Fort Pontchartrain, at Pointe de Montreal, now Sandwich, Ontario. Here he built a church, a mission-house and on Bois Blanc Island established a supporting farm. In 1744 Pierre Potier came to the mission as assistant to Richardie, who left the post ten years later, Potier then becoming the mission-master. John Gilmary Shea, than whom there is no higher authority on the subject, in his "History of the Catholic Missions," among the Indian tribes, states that in 1751, Richardie "led a party of the Hurons from Detroit to Sandusky, and these under the name of Wyandots, soon took an active part in the affairs of the West; they were conspicuous in the last French War, and at its close in Pontiac's conspiracy, though long withheld by the influence of Father Potier." Shea continues: "During these times of troubles the missionaries were driven from Sandusky; and though a regular succession was kept up at the mission of the Assumption near Detroit, still the suppression of the Jesuits prepared for its close and Father Pierre Potier, the last Jesuit missionary to the western Hurons, died in July 1781." And Shea adds, "After that the Indians depended entirely on the priests at the French posts, and the Wyandots were thus cut off from all spiritual instructions, but they did not lose their faith." We fail to find in the Jesuit *Relations* any mention of the Sandusky Mission, which seems to have been therefore merely a dependent post under the wing of the Detroit Mission. For

his authority Shea refers to the "Register at Sandwich;" that is the record kept there by Richardie and Potier. That the Jesuit Missions were not independently represented among the Ohio Indians may be in part explained by the fact that conditions were not conducive to permanent Indian stations in Ohio. The Ohio Indians were too migratory. During the period of the missionary pilgrimages and shrine building in the lake region and far west, the Ohio country was shaken and torn by the Iroquois conflicts with the local tribes, and this warlike condition kept the Ohio tribes in a shifting and agitated attitude. The French explorers had not invaded the interior; nor were the solitudes or Indian trails much disturbed by the *coureurs de bois*; though some of these forest tramps and outlaw traders frequented the regions of the Maumee, the Sandusky and the Cuyahoga, carrying brandy and small stocks of trinkets to exchange with the natives for their more valuable furs.

Ohio was almost *terra incognita*, to the European, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, though not entirely so. The two Sulpitian priests, Dollier and Galinée in their journey up the lakes, after leaving La Salle at Otinawatawa, in 1669, spent the winter at Point Pelee and there erecting the customary cross and the Arms of France took formal possession for their king of all lands bordering on Lake Erie. At the same time La Salle on the Ohio River was appropriating that valley as the property of the Bourbons. As early as 1680-86 the French established a trading post near the mouth of the Maumee River, probably the first permanent evidence of French occupancy of

Ohio. But the English claimants were close behind, for, as early as 1686, colonial governor Dongan of New York, on the strength of the English-Iroquois treaties, began to issue licenses to his colonists for trading, hunting and discovery to the southwest. That the English early had designs on Ohio is also proven by the proposal (1721) of Governor Spotswood of Virginia, five years after his romantic raid into the Shenandoah Valley, to the Board of Trade in London, that the British authorities make a treaty with the Miamis on the Maumee, permitting the English to trade with the Ohio Indians and to build a small fort on Lake Erie, upon which as yet the French had no formidable post. But this plan was not carried out. Both the rival European nations—France and England—therefore, had their watchful eyes on Ohio. It offered the virgin soil and the primeval forest—"all parts of the state," as one has written of this primitive time, "were peculiarly rich in game. The river, the lake and the inland combined to form a country which the red man and the white alike admired and coveted as a garden of delight. No wonder that the savage died rather than yield it; no wonder that enterprising spirits in the old settlements were eager to enjoy a land so attractively pictured by all who came back from it." The time had come for action! Ohio must be secured.

The valley of the Maumee was the first objective section in the struggle of the French and English for a foothold in Ohio. This because the Maumee with its portage connection with the Wabash, was the gateway of one of the easiest and earliest travelled water-

ways from Lake Erie to the lower Ohio, and thence on to the Mississippi. Miami Indians and other tribes centered in this locality and their favor and alliance was sedulously sought by both the English and the French.

The first clash growing out of the rival efforts of the two white races to get a foothold in Ohio, occurs about the bay at the mouth of the Sandusky River, then called Sandoski, Sandoské, Sandosket, Otsandoske, and other variations. At this point a Huron chief, whose Indian name was Orontony, baptismal name Nicolas, had settled with a numerous band of his Wyandot followers. He and his adherents had removed there from the neighborhood of Detroit, where his people had come in conflict with the French, whom the Indians had in some way seriously offended. Nicolas is described as "a wily fellow, full of savage cunning, whose enmity, when once aroused, was greatly to be feared." He had become the deadly foe of the French and sought their destruction. In 1739 Sieur Desnoyelles notified Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor of Canada, that "the Hurons had all gathered at Sandoské, although they had been told that they had nothing to fear," nevertheless, he adds, "they were armed like men who go to fight—bullets in their mouth and in their guns—and one Nicolas was their chief." It was feared they "may hatch something wrong." The Hurons committed many depredations against the Frenchmen and to strengthen his efforts against the enemy by securing the aid of the English, Nicolas in 1745 permitted the Pennsylvania colonists to erect a trading post and blockhouse, known as

Fort Sandoski, at the principal Huron town on the northwest point of Sandusky Bay, a station on the portage from the Sandusky River to the mouth of the Portage River, at Lake Erie, not far from the site of the present town of Port Clinton. This was the first "fort" erected by white men in Ohio, the Miami trading post (1680-6), on the lower Maumee, being regarded as having no military significance. The French had built a Fort Miami, at the juncture of the Rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph, the headwaters of the Maumee, present site of Fort Wayne, but this was not in Ohio; another Fort Miami, we noted, was built by La Salle at the mouth of St. Joseph River in Illinois.

Chief Nicolas won the friendship of the English, by permitting them to remain at Fort Sandusky and carry on traffic with his and other tribesmen. This movement of Nicolas, naturally aroused the offensive hostility of De Longueuil, commandant at Detroit. He wrote the Canadian governor, "Nicolas' band are as insolent as ever, the chief never ceasing his work to get allies—Nicolas will draw the English to him and facilitate their establishment all along Lake Erie." The crafty chief encouraged by his alliances, now set afoot a bold conspiracy. He rallied to his cause "the Iroquois of the West," the Hurons, Ottawas, Miamis, Chippewas, Sioux, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, and bands of many other tribes. The object of this great league was no less than the extermination of the French from Detroit and lake posts. Many western tribes, though not those in Illinois, entered into the plan "with zeal and alacrity." The blow was to be struck

at many points and without mercy. Chosen braves of the Hurons were to sleep in the fort and cabins at Detroit, as they had often done, and each at the appointed moment was to do his deadly work in the house of his lodgment. The Pottawattomies were to destroy the Bois Blanc Island mission; the Miamis were to annihilate the French traders in their country; the Wyandots to destroy the village on the Maumee; the Foxes were assigned the settlement at Green Bay; and thus nearly all the French trading posts of the Northwest were marked for destruction by the neighboring savages. In breadth and boldness of plan the plot of Nicolas equalled the conspiracy of King Phillip to combine the New England tribes in order to wipe out the coast settlements of the Puritans. But Nicolas' well-laid project, so deadly and wide-sweeping in its purpose, went awry. Members of the conspiring tribes, prematurely committed deeds of violence that aroused the suspicion of the intended victims. French traders were massacred and tomahawked in the Detroit and Sandusky regions. The bloody scheme was matured and about to be sprung when the conspiracy was betrayed by a Huron squaw, who gave the information to a Jesuit missionary. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the forts and trading posts, putting the occupants on their guard and causing them to take measures for protection and for retaliatory punishment of the Indians. The conspiracy succeeded only in small measure. Some of the posts were attacked before being warned, property was destroyed and a few captives were the victims of the death-dealing tribesmen. The Detroit fort was reënforced by the



arrival from Montreal of a hundred and fifty soldiers. The baffled Nicolas was compelled to succumb to the power that was ready to crush him. Proceeding to Detroit, accompanied by Orotoni, and Anioton, associate Huron chiefs, Nicolas secured immunity for himself and the Sandusky Wyandots upon the promise of abandoning his alliance with the English and of maintaining the peace in the future. But the Indian vengeance and treachery smoldered in the breast of the defeated chief. In the winter of 1747-8, the unsubdued chieftain defiantly received at his Sandusky villages two separate parties of traders from Philadelphia and allowed his Indian subjects to traffic with them; at the same time he was the willing recipient of wampum belts and other tokens of friendship from his English guests. This bold defiance of the faithless conspirator again aroused the Canadian powers, and La Jonquiere, the new French governor, ordered De Longueuil to use all means possible to suppress the traitorous leader. These instructions were conveyed to Nicolas by a French officer from Detroit. All the English in the Indian towns in the Sandusky region were ordered to immediately depart the country. Nicolas realizing that he could no longer avoid the doom certainly awaiting him at the hands of the incensed French, abandoned all further plans, tore down his towns including the stockade of Fort Sandusky, bade farewell to the scenes of his defeat, and at the head of a band of one hundred and nineteen warriors with their families, sought a new home on the Ohio, not far from the White River in the Indiana country. Another band of these "rebel Hurons," numbering

seventy, found their way east and settled on the Beaver River in Pennsylvania. The conspirators from the other tribes promptly gave up and became humble supplicants for pardon and peace. This pardon it was the policy of the De Longueuil to grant, but the French ever after exercised a more guarded conduct towards the western tribes. In place of their previous liberty and almost unlimited privileges, the Indians were subjected to constant surveillance and a rigid treatment. Thus ended in 1748 the conspiracy of Nicolas, the main features of which were incidents in northwestern Ohio. The Miamis were in hearty accord with the rebelling Wyandots and entered actively into the plot and "performed the part assigned them by the capture and destruction of Fort Miami at the confluence of St. Joseph and St. Mary's Rivers." The Miami fort was promptly rebuilt after the suppression of the Nicolas conspiracy.

As we learn from the article on "Old Fort Sandoski," by Miss Lucy Elliot Keeler, in the publications (1909) of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, although Nicolas' career at Fort Sandusky was speedily ended, "the English traders did not give up the foothold they had gained," at that point.

In 1749 La Jonquiere, governor of Canada, learned to his great indignation that several English traders had again reached the Sandusky and were "exerting a bad influence upon the Indians of that quarter." These indomitable English traders—it is confidently believed—rebuilt the Sandusky stockade, though we find no authentic record of its re-erection by them. The historic accounts do record, however, that "Fort



Sandoski" was "unsurped by the French in 1751;" indeed this is the annotation concerning the fort on Mitchell's map. It must therefore have been previously rebuilt by the English. This "usurpation" was effected by Bienville de Celoron, who, after his voyage (1749) through Ohio, which we shall soon relate, was made French commandant at Detroit and he "immediately followed," says Miss Keeler, "the formal claim of France to the territory between Lake Erie and the Ohio by founding a fort and trading-post on the [Sandoski] bay." It would seem therefore that Celoron had no need of building a fort; he simply appropriated the one rebuilt (1749) by the English. The exact site of this old "Fort Sandoski," often spoken of as the "first fort built by white men in Ohio," long a subject of earnest research, was definitely settled by Colonel Webb C. Hayes and Mr. Charles W. Burrows, by the discovery (1906), through the indefatigable research by the gentlemen mentioned, in the archives of Laval University, Quebec, of the original journals of Chevalier Chaussegros de Lery, a distinguished engineer of the French army, who was ordered to accompany an expedition from Presque Isle (Erie) to Detroit and Mackinac in the summer of 1754. De Lery's expedition consisted of twenty-seven canoes, each carrying ten men "with packages of provisions." De Lery's journal of this expedition, enriched with numerous maps, diagrams and descriptions of the route followed, gives definite statement of the site of the ruins of old Fort Sandusky, which he calls "Otsandoské." His journal for Sunday, August 4, (1754), reads: "I discovered a great sheet of water

which I took for lac Otsandoské. I did not know where the portage was [across the peninsula to Lake Erie]. I imagined that some vestiges still remained of the fort the French built in 1751 and which was afterwards evacuated. To find it I followed the shore on the north side of the said lake which runs east and west. After proceeding about 3 leagues, I found a clearing where I landed at noon and discovered the ruins of the old fort. I at once had the packages in my canoe carried across the portage. The portage is fifty-seven arpents in length." Fifty-seven "arpents" is about two miles and brought De Lery to the north side of the peninsula near the present site of Port Clinton, whence he embarked for Detroit.

The old fort "Otsandoské" was abandoned by the French when Fort Junundat was built by them in the year 1754,—same year as De Lery's expedition—on the east or right side of the mouth of the Sandusky Bay or River, "near the mouth of Pickerel Creek," known to the French as *Riviere du Poisson doree*." It was from this Fort Junundat that many of the later Indian trails on the east side of the Sandusky River started.

At this date (1754) the French made every effort to drive the English traders from the Ohio country, but it was a hopeless task. The latter were straggling in across the Ohio from the south and east and embarking from their canoes along the shores of Lake Erie. They were especially active in their operations between the lower Sandusky and the mouth of the Cuyahoga at which latter place the "shrewd barterer and wily agent," George Croghan, had a trading

house and did an extensive business with the tribes along the lake front. The appetite of the rival races for land and trade in the Ohio country grew upon what it fed. The very year (1748) of the Nicolas insurrection, Gallissioniere, Governor of Canada, advocated the emigration from France of ten thousand peasants who should be settled in the Ohio valley to preëempt the country and check the invasion from the English Colonies. But before so extensive a colonization scheme could be effected, events happened that rendered the attempt impossible of accomplishment.



## CHAPTER IX.

### THE OHIO LAND COMPANY



ONE of the first ambassadors of the English to the Ohio Indians was Conrad Weiser, a native of Germany, who as a mere lad came with his parents to America; his father leading a party of Palatines to the new country and finally settling with his family in Berks County (then Lancaster), Pennsylvania. The Weiser home was in an Indian country and young Conrad came in close contact with the Mohawks, living many years in their midst and being adopted into their tribe, and receiving the Indian name Tharachiawagon. He became master of the Mohawk and other tribal dialects, and gained complete knowledge of the customs, habits, conditions and political contentions of many of the tribes with which the colonies had to deal. He was appointed an official interpreter by the Pennsylvania council and for thirty years was employed in that capacity, participating during that period in almost every important Indian negotiation. His integrity and his loyalty to the colonial interests were equalled by his tact and ability.

The Nicolas conspiracy naturally intensified the situation in the Ohio country, and George Croghan conveyed to the colonial council at Philadelphia the information that some of the Indian tribes along the shore of Lake Erie, having lost all amity for the French, desired an English alliance. George Croghan, whose name we have just mentioned, will demand our further acquaintance. He was a product of Ireland, educated at Dublin, and well suited by the Irish alertness of mind and pugnacity of temperament to push his way in the wilderness of the New World. While a young

man, indeed almost a boy, he emigrated (1741) to Pennsylvania and at the time of which we are speaking, lived near the present site of Harrisburg. His daring courage and trading instinct carried him with his pack horses and followers, of whom he employed a number, among the Indians of the Sandusky, the Lake Erie region, and the Indian settlements on the interior streams of Ohio. He readily acquired the Indian languages, became a great trader,—“the king of the traders”—a favorite interpreter and through the introduction of Weiser to the council of Pennsylvania as “faithful and prudent,” was employed by the colony as an “official almoner to the tribes of the Lake Shore region.” He won the confidence of the tribesmen and no one was more popular among the backwoods merchants, being known as “the idol of the Irish traders.” He established trading posts not only at Logstown, but at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, on the Muskingum, and elsewhere. He became most influential in the political transactions between the English and the Indians. It was in the trading house or store of Croghan that Weiser lodged during his stay at Logstown. On learning the situation in the Ohio country, the Pennsylvania council voted a thousand pounds (\$5,000) as a fund for the purchase of presents to placate the Indian tribes, at the same time inviting the southern provinces to coöperate in the tribal pacification. Virginia responded with an appropriation of two hundred pounds. Croghan was dispatched as a forerunner to announce the coming of Weiser, the appointed ambassador of peace, and dispenser of the influence.



In the summer of 1748 Weiser set out from his home, Womelsdorf, Pa., for the Ohio country. It was the first embassy from the colonists to the tribes beyond the Alleghanies. Weiser kept a daily journal of his mission, one of the rare records of those primitive times. He was some forty days on the journey. He reached the Allegheny, then called the Ohio, at Chartier's Old Town, the trading post of Peter Chartier, "the French-Shawnee half-breed." Here Weiser left his horses and hiring a canoe "went by water" to Logstown, stopping on the way at the Delaware village, near the river forks, known as Shannopin's Town, from a Delaware chief of that name; and at a Seneca settlement, "where an old Seneca woman Reigns with great authority." She was the noted Queen Aliquippa, a Delaware sachem. She dined Weiser and his escort at her house. At both the villages named, where stops were made, Weiser says, "they received us by firing a great many guns." They were honored by a salute of "about one hundred guns" great joy appearing in the countenances of the Indians, on their arrival at Logstown, called by the French Chiningu, or Shenango. It was located on the Ohio about eighteen miles below the juncture of the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela and was one of the most important Indian trading centers in that part of the country, having a mixed community of several tribes, chiefly Iroquois, Mohican and Shawnee. Many chiefs frequented Logstown or made it at times a temporary residence. Among those who usually resided there was a Seneca chief of great celebrity, being the head sachem of the fragments of the tribes which had migrated from the

Iroquois nations to the Ohio. He was Tanacharison, generally called the Half King because while presiding over his many tribal subjects he was still subordinate to the Iroquois Confederacy. Logstown was the scene of many conspicuous incidents, in the history of frontier days, and we shall hear much of it in the recital of subsequent events, for the village being on the border line between the red and the white peoples was the common center for commercial activity and political intrigue.

At Logstown, Weiser met Andrew Montour, a renowned and romantic character, being the son of an Oneida chief called Carondawana, or Big Tree, and a famous half-breed beauty, Catherine Montour, the daughter of a distinguished French resident of Canada—none other than the Count de Frontenac, says Buell, in his life of William Johnson—and of an Indian Squaw of the Huron nation. Madam Montour, brilliant and tactful, was a prominent and attractive figure, tradition says not only in the society circles of Philadelphia, but in the councils between the colonists, the French and the tribes, over the latter of which she exerted great influence, as she spoke not only French and English but also several Indian languages. Catherine Montour, it is claimed, lived among the Miamis in her youth. Her children and grandchildren figured prominently in the early Indian history of Ohio and Pennsylvania. French Margaret who lived at, and gave her name to—according to Evan's map of 1755—the town on the Big Hocking (site of Lancaster, Fairfield County) and later lived at French Margaret's Town, near mouth of Lycoming

Creek—is generally supposed to have been a daughter of Catherine Montour. Esther Montour,—“Queen Esther, the most infamous of all the Montours”—the “fiend of Wyoming,” was a daughter of French Margaret and hence a grand-daughter of Madam Montour. Madam Montour had two sons, Louis, said to have been killed in the French and Indian War, and Andrew.

Andrew Montour, whose Indian name was Sattelihu, had the dash of a French cavalier and the penchant of the Indian for gawdy ornamentation, his attire being described as “a coat of fine cloth of cinnamon color, a black neck-tie with silver spangles, a red satin waistcoat, trousers over which hangs his shirt, shoes and stockings, a hat and brass ornaments something like the handle of a basket suspended from his ears.” He spoke fluently the Iroquois and other tongues. Though partially of French extraction, his sympathies and efforts were for the English, and between them and the Six Nations, he had already rendered effective service.

At Logstown, Weiser, assisted by Montour and Croghan, paved the way for Indian propitiation by extending to the various tribesmen, in the neighborhood and across the Ohio, invitations to the village, where on their arrival they were treated to drams of rum and rolls of tobacco. Councils were held with chiefs or representatives of the Wyandots, Senecas, Shawnees, Twightwees, Onondagas, Delawares, Oneidas, Mohawks, Cayugas, Mohicans and many others. The Indian orators delivered their speeches, reciting their grievances and demands. To these Weiser replied, extolling the power and advocating the pro-

tection of the English and deprecating the ability of the French to advance the interests of the tribesmen. At these councils the liquids flowed freely and Weiser delivered the goods, blankets, articles of clothing, weapons, trinkets, etc., with which he had been provided, distributing these articles among the tribal delegates with proper discrimination. He also secretly estimated—that he might report the same to the English authorities—the number of warriors the different tribes could muster. It was in the Autumn of 1748, that Conrad Weiser, with Croghan and Montour as his associates, had conducted in a highly successful manner, the first mission of the English to the Ohio Indians.

While Weiser, Croghan and Montour were executing the purposes of their Pennsylvania embassy in the Indian councils at Logstown on the banks of the Ohio, another project, of greater importance and extent, having for its object the occupation of the Trans-Ohio country, was in progress. It was the organization (in 1748) of the "Ohio Company," sometimes known as "The Ohio Land Company." The initiators and charter members were John Hanbury, a Quaker merchant in London; Thomas Lee, member of the Virginia Colonial Council and a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature; Colonel Thomas Cressap, Lawrence Washington, Augustus Washington, George Fairfax and others, "all of his Majesty's Colony of Virginia."

These enterprising gentlemen petitioned the king "that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to encourage their undertaking by giving instructions to the Governor of Virginia to grant to them and such

others as they shall admit as their associates a tract of 500,000 acres of land betwixt Romanettes and Buffalo's Creek on the south side of the River Allegany (Allegheny), otherwise the Ohio, and betwixt the two Creeks and the Yellow Creek on the north side of the River or in such other parts of the west of the said mountains as shall be adjudged most proper by the petitioners for that purpose, etc." This land lay, in modern geography, in the Ohio valley between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers. The land might be chosen on either side of the Ohio. A portion the company proposed to secure was in the present Jefferson and Columbiana Counties of Ohio and Brooke County of West Virginia. The conditions of the grant were that two hundred thousand acres were to be taken up at once; one hundred families were to be "seated" within seven years and a fort was to be built by the grantees as a protection against hostile Indians.

The King readily assented to this scheme, as it was represented to him by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, having in charge all matters pertaining to the Colonies in America, "that the settlement of the country lying to the westward of the Great Mountains in the Colony of Virginia, which is the center of all his Majesty's provinces, will be for his Majesty's interests and advantage, inasmuch as his Majesty's subjects will be thereby enabled to cultivate a friendship and carry on a more extensive commerce with the nations of Indians inhabiting those parts, and such settlement may likewise be a proper step toward disappointing and checking the encroachments of

the French by interrupting part of the communication from their lodgments upon Great Lakes to the River Mississippi, by means of which communication his Majesty's plantations there are exposed to their incursions and those of the Indian nations in their interest." In plain terms this Ohio grant severed the chain of the French claim uniting the St. Lawrence with the Mississippi. This location was further selected, "that water communications between the heads of the Potomac and the Ohio might be available for transportation." The Royal government gave the Ohio Company its charter in 1749 and the governor of Virginia was ordered to make the grant to the Company.

Although the company originally issued but twenty shares of stock and the lands were never selected or settled as outlined, the managers of the company proceeded in anticipation of its prospects to establish a store at Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), to open thence a road across the mountains to the Monongahela at the confluence (Pittsburgh) of which river and the Allegheny they further planned to erect a fort. Two cargoes of goods suitable for the Indian trade were ordered from England and an explorer was secured to prospect the lands. Thomas Lee, who took the lead in the concerns of the Ohio Company, died almost at the outset, and the chief management fell upon Lawrence Washington, half brother of George.

The Canadians and the colonists were enthused in their respective activities toward the realization of their rival claims to the Ohio country, by the result of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, entered into October,



1748, "for the putting an end to the calamities of War." That treaty terminated what was known as King George's War, waged on the European continent between England, France and other nations. It also involved the English and French in America, in which there was some sea and considerable borderland fighting, the colonists taking Louisburg from the French. By the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, much to the dissatisfaction of the New Englanders, the boundary disputes concerning the French and English possessions in America were left unsettled and for the future action of a joint commission. A sort of ante-bellum *statu quo* was recognized, which not only permitted the contest for the Ohio country to continue, but increased the efforts of each claimant.

If the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle did not, in any way, allay the rivalry between France and England in America, a treaty made the summer of that same year (1748) at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, had much to do with the situation. This treaty was entered into by commissioners of Pennsylvania and Virginia and representatives of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, Nanticokes and Miamis, the latter including Twightwee deputies from Pickawillany. The Miamis expressed themselves as particularly desirous of securing the friendship and alliance of their English brothers and requested that a "road"—friendly relationship—be opened from their Miami towns to the English settlements and that many English traders be sent among them. In the signed treaty the Miami chiefs agreed not to injure or defraud any of the subjects of Great Britain, "but at all times readily do justice and perform

to them [English] all acts and offices of friendship and good will." At the conference, resulting in the above treaty, the Provincial Council report of the proceedings says "the Commissioner gave a handsome entertainment to the deputies of the Twightwees and the Indians who conducted them from the Ohio."

The activities of the Pennsylvania and Virginia colonists in the Logstown negotiations and the Ohio Land Company organization thoroughly aroused the French authorities at Quebec. It was their next move and it was promptly made. In the Spring of 1749 Marquis de la Gallissoniere, Governor of Canada, directed Captain Bienville de Celoron, a capable and courageous officer, with proper escort to proceed to the Ohio, descend it and by suitable formalities, preëempt the territory for France and order all intruding English to retire from the French possessions. This expedition of Celoron was conducted with characteristic French theatrical ceremony. The detachment under Celoron consisted of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abenaki Indians. Celoron's chief assistants were De Contrecoeur, and Coulon de Villiers, prominent officers of whom we shall hear more later on. The diplomat of this military company was one Phillipe Thomas Joncaire (John Coeur), Sieur de Chabert, a French officer, resident among the Seneca Indians, to which tribe his mother, it was said, belonged. Joncaire had a trading post at Niagara and commanded large means. He spoke eloquently the dialects of the Iroquois, with whom he exerted a most remarkable



influence, being given by them the Indian name "Nitachinon." He was a bitter and unscrupulous opponent of the English and a favorite negotiator and interpreter for the French in their dealings with the Indians. The chaplain was Father Pierre Jean de Bonnechamps, who styled himself a "Jesuite Mathematicien." He was also the sailing master of the expedition; made a map of the course followed and kept a daily record entitled "brief notes of the most important occurrences." The original manuscript of this journal now rests in the Archives of Marine, Paris. It is reproduced in the Jesuit *Relations*. De Celoron also kept a journal of the entire voyage. Both these reports of Celoron and Bonnechamps have been published and from them we obtain our information.

The flotilla, consisting of twenty birch bark canoes, embarked from La Chine on June 15, 1749. It formed a bizarre but picturesque outfit, the French soldiers and Canadians, in their gay costumes and semi-medieval armour, the half naked, copper-skinned savages with their barbarian weapons, the flying banners of France, all crowded in the frail white birch canoes, that floated on the blue waters of the river like tiny paper shells, filled with variegated and animated figures; it must have seemed like a *tableau vivant* rather than an army going forth to wrest an empire from the indomitable English. The little fleet pushed its way up the St. Lawrence, across Ontario to Niagara, around the roaring falls of which they shouldered their canoes, re-embarking on the waters of Lake Erie. They crept along the lake shore to the mouth of Chautauqua

Creek, which they ascended, partly by portages, to the lake of that name; "Chatakouin," Celoron calls it, which they paddled to its outlet in Conewango Creek, Chanongon, in Celoron's journal, and "Kananougon" on Bonnechamps' map, which skurried the little fleet into the broader current of the Allegheny. They had reached the Ohio. At this point, now known as Warren (Pa.), a halt was made and at "the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the river Oyo (Ohio) at the confluence of the Chanongon," writes Celoron, "I buried a plate of lead." This plate, one of several similarly interred, was some eleven inches long and seven wide, on which was engraved in French an inscription which translated reads as follows:

"In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis the 15th, King of France, we Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor General of New France, to reestablish tranquillity in some Indian Villages of these cantons, have buried this Plate of Lead at the confluence of the Ohio and the Chautauqua, this 29th day of July, near the River Ohio, otherwise *Belle Riviere*, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the kings of France preceding, and as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle."

As an additional clincher, a tin sheet was tacked upon the tree setting forth a "*Proces verbal*," bearing the arms of France and certifying that a plate had been there buried, etc. This *proces verbal* was worded thus:

"In the year 1749 we, Celoron, Chevalier of the Royal and military order of St. Louis, commander of a detachment sent by order of the Marquis of Galissoniere, Governor General of Canada, to the Ohio, in presence of the principal officers of our detach-

#### CELORON'S LEAD PLATE

Lead plate of Celoron, claiming French possession of the Ohio country. This plate was buried at the mouth of the Muskingum River by Celoron in 1749. It was discovered in 1798, and, after passing through the possession of Caleb Atwater, became the property of the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, which society still retains it.

# CELESTIAL LEAD PLATE

Lead plate of Celestia, claiming French possession of the Ohio country. This plate was buried at the mouth of the Mississippi River by Celestia in 1749. It was discovered in 1804 and after passing through the possession of Capt. Zebulon Pike, became the property of the American Society of Explorers and Discoverers, which society still retains it.

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The image shows two fragments of a stone inscription, likely of Pictish origin. The fragments are dark, irregularly shaped, and heavily weathered. The top fragment is larger and has a jagged, broken edge on the left. It contains several lines of Pictish script, which is a form of Old Scottish Gaelic. The script is carved into the stone and is somewhat faded and difficult to read. The bottom fragment is smaller and also has a jagged, broken edge on the left. It contains a few lines of Pictish script, similar to the top fragment. The overall appearance is that of an ancient, weathered stone inscription.



ment, have buried (Here was inserted the place of deposit) a leaden plate, and in the same place have affixed to a tree the Arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed, with the officers the present Process verbal, at our camp, the (day of the month) 1749."

Mr. Marshal of the Buffalo Historical Society in his comments on the journal of Celoron calls attention to the fact that Celoron in his plate speaks of the Allegheny as the Ohio or "La Belle Riviere." This the commentator states "is in accordance with the usage of all early French writers since the discovery of the river by La Salle." The same custom prevailed among the Senecas whose territory touched the Allegheny, which they considered "as the Ohio proper," calling it O-hee-yuh, meaning "beautiful river." In the Cayuga and Mohawk dialects the name is O-hee-yo; in the Onondaga and Tuscarawa, O-hee-yee; Oneida, O-hee, all signifying "fine or fair river." It was given other names by other tribes, such as Adigo, Attiga and similarly sounding synonyms.

Having thus literally buried and "nailed down," or more literally speaking tacked up, the title of France, the band of Medieval Gauls and western savages, drawn up in military array, shouted "vives" for their King and then, re-entering their canoes, resumed their journey. They were now well into the Indian country and stopped at various villages to meet and placate the aborigines, whom they suavely greeted, making them presents and pledging them in "Onontio's milk," or French brandy.

As Celoron proceeded cautiously down the river he sent Joncaire ahead, as an *avant-courreur* to announce the coming of the French and give assurances of the

friendliness of their approach. They stopped at the village of the mouth of "Riviere aux Boeufs," now French Creek, known to the English as Venango, and later an important point. A few miles below Venango the second plate was buried, with all the French furbelows. Passing the forks or site of Shannopin's Town they rowed on to Chiningu or Logstown. They found the village the largest on the river, with eighty cabins, harboring Iroquois, Shawnees, Loups, even Nippissings, Abenakis and Ottawas. Celoron found here several English traders, whom he ordered away, sending by them to Hamilton, Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania, a letter to the effect that "he was surprised to find English traders on French territory, it being in contravention of solemn treaties and hoped the governor would forbid their trespassing in the future." Celoron made a speech to the Logstown Indians but they treated it with contempt as they were friendly to the English. Celoron pushed on, burying a third plate on the north bank of Wheeling Creek at its juncture with the Ohio. At the mouth of the Muskingum, the fourth plate was sunk with cheers, songs and a volley. It was subsequently found and is now in the custody of the Antiquarian Society of—Worcester—Massachusetts. The fifth lead title was buried at "the foot of an elm on the south bank of the Ohio and on the east bank of the Chinondaista, the eighteenth of August, 1749." The Chinondaista, "river of the woods," was the Great Kanawha. This plate was also subsequently found. From this point, Joncaire was sent forward "with two chiefs from the Sault St. Louis and two Abenakis," to propitiate



the inhabitants of "St. Yotoc," a village they were now approaching. As Bonnechamps calls the place "Sinhioto" on his map it is identified as Scioto, the village that was at the mouth of that river, a village known as Shawneetown, though Celoron reports finding there representatives of "nearly all nations of the upper country."

This river, generally known as the Scioto, like many rivers in early times, had an embarrassing plurality of Indian names. The centrality of its location and its utility as a waterway between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, gave this river great prominence with many of the tribes, each one of which gave it its own tribal designation. The Wyandot name was Scionto, probably from Oughscanoto, the word for deer, which favorite game of the Indian, frequented in great numbers, the river thus named; the Mohawk word for deer was Oskennonton or Scaento; in Onondaga it was Skanodo. Other forms of the name applied to the Scioto, as noted by Mr. Hanna, included Souyote, Sonnioto, Sonontio, Centioteaux, St. Yotoc, Chianotho and Sikader, "besides the name by which it was designated on Bellin's map of 1744, Chianouske." It was however known chiefly as the Scioto, meaning deer river. Caleb Atwater in his "History of Ohio" (1838) has another unauthenticated version of the origin of the name Scioto, saying the river was so called from the Indian word Seeyo-toh, meaning "great legs;" because of the numerous branches of the Scioto; "on the east the Little Scioto, Olentangy, Gahannah or Big Walnut, Little Walnut and Salt Creeks; on the west, the Rush Creek, Mill Creek, Boke's Creek,

Darby, Deer and Paint Creeks," and these are all "longlegs for their size."

After the exchange of the usual courtesies with the people of "Sinhioto" Celoron's fleet passed on to the mouth of the Great Miami, named by the explorers "Riviere a la Roche." The sixth and last "nota bene" was here sunk and the bark gondolas of the little navy turned their prows northward and ascended the Miami, to the mouth of Pickawillany Creek, later known as Loramie Creek, then the site of Pickawillany stockade and the village of a Piankashaw band of Miami Indians, whose chief, because of his unusually gawdy dress, was known to the French as "La Demoiselle." The English called him "Old Britain," as he was friendly to the British.

Pickawillany, spelled Piqualline and Pickwaylinee, and otherwise, and also called on Evans' map of 1755, "Tawixwti Town, or Picque Town," was built, according to Mr. Hanna, at the suggestion of the Shawnees and with their help for their friends and allies, the Twightwees or Miamis, whom about 1747 deserted the French interests and abandoned their former town, Kiskakon. Mr. Hanna further informs us that "the town of the Miamis or Twightwees was called by the Shawnees *Pkiwileni* (i.e., dust or ashes people), a name given also to many of their own towns which were settled by the *Pkiwi* or Pequa clan—more familiar in the common form of Piqua or Pickaway."

Pickawillany, at the time of our discussion, was not only a trading post but was an important trail center in the western Ohio country. One trail, as we have seen, led from it, northwest, to Kiskakon, thence on to

Detroit; another led south along the east banks of the Big Miami to the Ohio; a third extended southeast to the Indian village of Maguck (Mecacheek) on the Scioto, at the mouth of the Big Darby, near present site of Circleville. From this latter point, trails respectively went south along the east side of the Scioto to Lower Shawnee Town (Portsmouth) on the Ohio; north along the Whetstone and Sandusky to Fort Sandusky; from Maguck, also, there was a famous trail cut, through French Margaret's Town, at the headwaters of the Big Hocking and thence through Wauketaumeka, on the Muskingum, to Cancake, whence two trails led to the Ohio at Logstown; one by way of Newcomers-town and the other by way of Tuscarawas Town on the river of that name at the mouth of Margaret's Creek; at the latter point there met two trails from Lake Erie, one from Forts Sandusky and Junundat and one from the mouth of the Cuyahoga. For complete discussion and description of these trails and their branches and minor divergencies and other Indian routes not mentioned, we refer the reader to the writings on "The Indian Thoroughfares" by Professor Archer B. Hulbert in the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications and that author's volumes on "Historic Highways;" also the elaborate study on this subject by Mr. Hanna in "The Wilderness Trail."

At Pickawillany Celoron's company remained a week to recruit, if possible win over the Piankashaws, and to prepare for the continuance of the journey. The French voyagers extended to Demoiselle and his subjects much French palaver and more substantial

persuasion in the shape of fire-water and gun-powder to wean him from the British influences. But the spirituous arguments of the French were not, according to the annalists of those times, so strong as those of the English; a mink's skin would purchase the same quantity of rum that a beaver's skin would procure of whiskey. Mink's skins were more common and cheaper than the beaver pelt; the French sold whiskey, the English rum; hence the Indian trade followed the cheaper channel; moreover the Indian preferred rum as upon that beverage he could more readily get drunk and the redman's most ecstatic enjoyment was the sensation of intoxication.

There was much feasting and revelry during the sojourn at Pickawillany, but with poor results to the cause of France. Here Celoron burned his birch canoes and obtaining some ponies set out across the portage to the Maumee. The distance was some seventy-five miles. They reached Kiskakon, juncture of St. Joseph and St. Marys Rivers, an Indian village of an Ottawa band, presided over by a chief the French called "Pied Froid" or cold foot. He may have received the designation because he wavered in his allegiance between the English and the French. Here was the French post, Miami, under command of De Raymond. From this point Celoron and some members of his company proceeded overland to Detroit; the remaining portion secured pirogues and canoes and descended the Maumee to the Lake. Here the Detroit party duly arrived and after some delay, as the Indian contingent "were overcome by a drunken debauch on the whiteman's fire-water," the expedition coasting along

the north shore of Erie and the south shore of Ontario, arrived with their badly shattered canoes, October 10th, at Montreal.

They had traversed "over twelve hundred leagues" or some three thousand miles. Celoron had faithfully discharged his errand. The Ohio Valley had certainly been placarded as the property of France, and due warning had been given all English intruders to "keep off" the domain of his Majesty King Louis. But Celoron in his diary was compelled to admit "that the nations (Indians) of these countries (traversed) are very ill disposed towards the French and are devoted entirely to the English." This circuit of Celoron's seemed therefore little else than a vain but glorious travesty, a pleasing comedy, a passing show in the trappings of mock war, amid the wild scenery of a savage inhabited country. It was evident that it would require lead in some more forceful form than buried inscriptions to exclude the undaunted colonists.

The Celoron "claiming with confidence" expedition attracted the attention of the Virginians and Pennsylvanians. The news of the approach of the French flotilla caused the governor of Pennsylvania to dispatch George Croghan to the Ohio country to checkmate Celoron's enterprise and secure the Indians to the interests of the English. Croghan reached Logstown the last of August (1749) only about two weeks after Celoron had stopped there on his way down the river. Croghan inquired of the Logstown people, the object of Celoron's expedition, which had just preceded him. He was told that "it was to drive the English away and by burying iron plates with inscrip-

tions on them at the mouth of each remarkable creek, to steal away their country." In the summer of the following year (1750) Conrad Weiser reported to the governor of Pennsylvania that the French agent Joncaire, also called Jean Coeur, was on his way to the Ohio with a large quantity of valuable presents for the Indians and bearing orders from the governor of Canada to drive out all English traders. Governor Hamilton immediately detailed Croghan and Montour to hasten to the Indians on the Miamis and renew with them the "chain of friendship" and deliver to them presents as evidence of continued English protection. At Logstown on their way into Ohio, Croghan and Montour were advised by the Indian chiefs there present that "their Brothers, the English, ought to have a fort on their river to secure trade, as they expected war with the French in the Spring." Croghan and Montour soon reached the village of the Wyandots and Mingoes, "on the Muskingum." This Indian settlement which was called Wyandot Town, or on Mitchell's map (1755) "Owandot's Town," was at the forks of the Tuscarawas and Mohican, present site of Coshocton. The population consisted of about one hundred Indian families or five hundred people, who were almost equally divided in their sympathies and adherence between the French and the English. This communal diversity of allegiance was not infrequent in the Ohio Indian villages, which French and English traders had for many years been visiting, not only to purchase peltries but influence the natives in behalf of the Canadian or the colonial interests as the case might be. The Indians naturally through fear



or policy, hesitated or vacillated and their settlements were thus often disturbed by the conflicting claimants. At Wyandot Town, Croghan had a trading house and on his arrival with Montour he at once called in the traders in his employ, who were scattered through the country thereabouts. Upon their appearance, he hoisted the English flag over his house and that of the village sachem. This he did to encourage the English sentiment among the Indians and to intimidate the French who recently had captured, in the vicinity, three English traders, carrying them to Detroit. While Croghan and Montour were thus busying themselves at Wyandot Town, there arrived the agent of the Ohio Land Company, then on his journey of exploration. This agent was Christopher Gist, an intrepid woodsman, experienced in all phases of frontier life. His home, at this time, was on the Yadkin near the boundary line of Virginia and North Carolina.





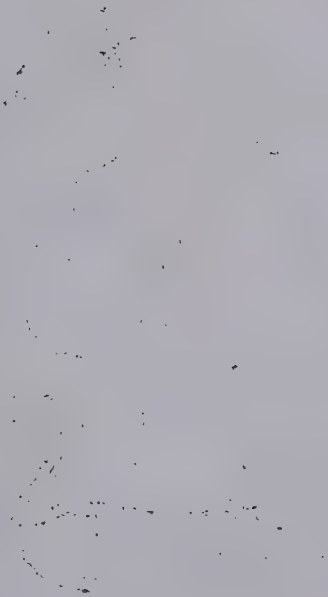
CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY OF CHRISTOPHER GIST



### EVANS'S OHIO MAP

The section covering Ohio taken from the map of Lewis Evans, first published in Philadelphia in 1755. The complete map presents the middle British Colonies in America, including the French possessions north of the Ohio River. A reproduction engraved from a photograph made for the History of Ohio from the original map in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.



# EVANS'S OHIO MAP

The section covering Ohio taken from the map of Lewis Evans, first published in Philadelphia in 1755. The complete map presents the middle British Colonies in America, including the French possessions north of the Ohio River. A reproduction engraved from a photograph made for the History of Ohio from the original map in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.





**C**HRISTOPHER GIST was of English descent, born in Maryland, of which colony his father, Richard Gist, had surveyed the western shore besides aiding in laying out the town of Baltimore. In early life Christopher removed to the Yadkin River, at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, near the present site of Wilkesbarre, North Carolina. Gist was shrewd and sagacious, a professional surveyor, becoming unusually experienced in woodcraft and all phases of pioneer and Indian life. He was gifted with common-sense and cool-headedness; a great wood tramper and an Indian trader of what Parkman calls "the better stamp." The governing committee of the Ohio Company wisely chose him as their agent to explore the country from which they might select their land. His instructions were to go to the westward of the Great Mountains, in order to search out and discover lands upon the River Ohio as low down as the great falls thereof. He was to observe the ways and passes through the mountains, take an exact account of the soil, quality and product of the land, width and depth of the rivers; observe what nations of Indians inhabit there, their strength and numbers, with whom they trade and in what commodities they deal; when he found a large quantity of good, level land, such as he thought would suit the company, he was to measure it, take the courses of the river and mountains on which it binds, etc. He was to draw a good plan of the country through which he passed and keep an exact and complete journal of all his proceedings and make a true report thereof to the Ohio Company. He was allowed a woodsman or two for

the service of the expedition and with these he set out on horseback, October 31 (1750), starting from Colonel Thomas Cresap's at Old Town on the Potomac River, some fourteen miles east of Cumberland, Maryland. Following an Indian trail, he struck into the wilderness, passed the Juniata, crossed the ridges of the Alleghany, arrived at Shannopin's Town, leaving which he followed the Ohio River to Logstown. He found here "scarce anybody but a parcel of reprobate Indian traders, the chiefs of the Indians being out hunting;" he was also informed that George Croghan and Andrew Montour, who were sent upon an embassy from Pennsylvania to the Indians, "were passed about a week before me." His next stop was at the mouth of Beaver Creek, at which was then located the Indian village known as Shingiss Town, residence of King Beaver and his brother and successor, the Delaware war chief Shingiss often spelled Shingas.

From this point Gist struck into the interior of what was to be the State of Ohio; passing west, near the present town of New Lisbon, thence Oneida (Carroll County) on to an Ottawa town near the junction of the Big Sandy and the Tuscarawas, close to the present site of Bolivar. The Tuscarawas is called by Gist the "Elk's Eye" Creek, Elk's Eye being the English for Mooskingung or Muskingum, so called by the Indians because the elks were not only plentiful on the river banks, but so tame the Indians could approach them near enough to see into their eyes. On the fourteenth (December) he entered the Wyandot Town "of Muskingum." On his approach he was delighted to see "the English colors hoisted on the King's house and at



George Croghan's." Here he remained about a month until January 15 (1751). His journal during this delay is unusually explicit and interesting. He was well received by the Indians whose sympathy was mainly with the English. "If the French claim the rivers which run into the lakes," said they, "those which run into the Ohio belong to us and to our Brothers the English." They urged Gist to settle at their town and build a fort there. On Christmas Day, Gist held religious services in the presence of a few traders and "several of the well-disposed Indians who came freely." He treated of the "doctrine of Salvation-Faith, and good works as extracted from the Homilies of the Church of England," which he read to them in the best manner he could, while the interpreter (Montour) told the Indians what he read. He reports in his diary "the Indians seemed well pleased and came to me and returned thanks and gave me a name in their language, Annosanah; the interpreter told me this was the name of a good man who formerly had lived among them." This no doubt, says Darlington, the annotator of Gist's journal, was the first Protestant religious service ever held within the limits of the present State of Ohio. Here Gist also beheld the horrible tortures, mutilation and killing of a white woman, "who had been a long time prisoner, and had deserted and been retaken." Gist relates the harrowing details. Councils were held with the Indians in the Wyandot King's house, in which Croghan, Montour and Gist advocated the cause of the English and invited the tribes to be represented at a gathering to be held at Logstown the next spring (1752). Leaving

this Muskingum town, the party, now including Croghan and Montour, proceeded to the White Woman's Creek, also called the Walkending—now Walhonding,—on which was a small town, called "White Woman's," because in that village there lived Mary Harris.

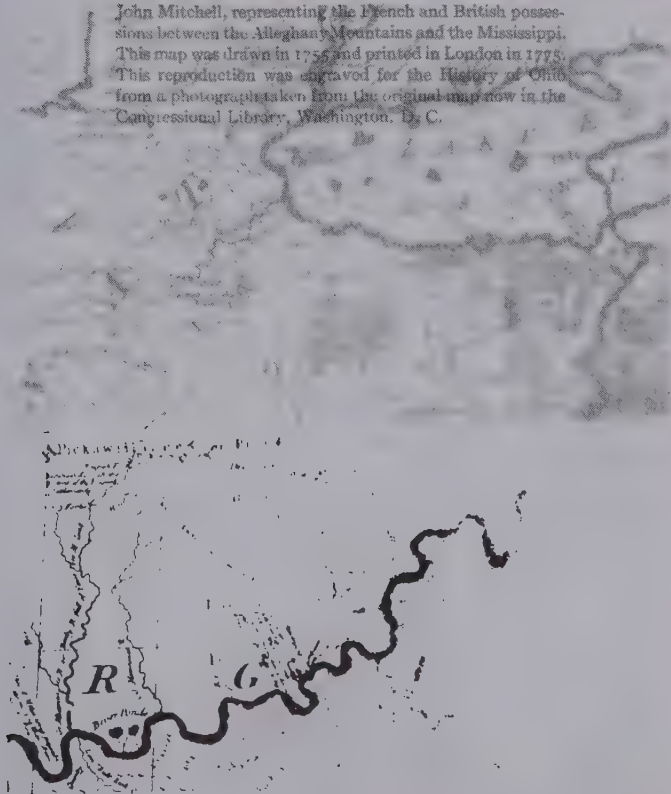
As Mary Harris is reputed to be the first white woman who became resident in Ohio, of whom accessible records make note, her history or rather story, as the facts are not fully authenticated, is deserving of brief relation. It is claimed by some chroniclers that she was the May Harris known to have been stolen in her infancy, by the Indians from Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1704. When twenty-five or thirty years old (1730-1740), she was living in the Indian villages on the Muskingum. Here she became the wife of Eagle Feather, a prominent warrior and chief, whom she admired and dutifully served, often accompanying him in his buffalo and bear hunts and "whenever he went off with a war party to take a few scalps, she mixed his paint and laid it on and plumed him for the wars. She was especially careful to polish with soap-stone his little hatchet, admonishing him not to return without some good, long-haired scalps for the wigwarm parlor ornaments and chignons, such as were worn by the first class Indian ladies along the Killbuck and the Walhonding." So noted did she become that the Indian village of her chief was named "The White Woman's Town," and the river upon which it was located, from thence to the forks of the Muskingum, was called in her honor "The White Woman's Creek." It is so designated on the maps of Mitchell and of Evans.

As the maps just mentioned are the standard ones of Ohio at the period in question, and are frequently referred to in our history, a word concerning their origin and authority may be timely at this point. Those who wish to be informed concerning the early maps of America, and especially of Ohio, are referred to the complete and carefully prepared article on "Early Maps of Ohio and the West," published as tract No. 25 of The Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society. The author was the scholarly secretary of the Society, Mr. C. C. Baldwin. The earliest maps giving the Ohio country in any detail between the river and Lake Erie, are the maps—in question—of Evans and of Mitchell. Mr. Baldwin fully describes them. Lewis Evans was an American geographer and surveyor, residing in Pennsylvania. He was born about 1700 and died 1756. He was much employed in his profession and published a map of the Middle Colonies with an "Analysis," in 1755. It was engraved by James Turner and printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall in Philadelphia. It was dedicated to Thomas Pownall, born England, 1720; secretary to Governor Osborn of New York, 1753; later lieutenant governor of New York; governor of Massachusetts, 1757-60; governor of South Carolina, 1760-61; returned to England and member of Parliament, 1768, a great friend of the Americans. In 1776 Pownall published Evans' map with additional matter. In the Appendix to his "Topographical Description of North America," accompanying Pownall's edition of Evans' map (1776) is the Journal of Gist (1750). Another map, standard in its time, much printed and used, was Mitchell's.

John Mitchell was a physician and fellow of the Royal Society. He came from England to Virginia early in the Eighteenth Century as a botanist. He returned to England in 1768. Baldwin says: "Mitchell's large and elaborate map has a certificate from John Pownall, Secretary of the Board of Trade (London, England) and brother of Thomas Pownall, that it was undertaken at his request, composed from drafts, charts and actual surveys, transmitted from the different colonies by the governors thereof." The various editions of the map have no date but that of 1755. This map was used by the Commissioners in making the treaty of peace in 1783 between England and the colonies, by which our country became a nation. The certificate of Pownall and the official use of Mitchell's map, as above noted, seems to have placed it first in importance and authority among the maps of its period. There were many other maps—the products of early cartographers—of the eastern portion of new North America, previous to the maps of Mitchell and Evans; but these earlier maps gave little or no information concerning the Ohio (state) section. Subsequent to the two maps mentioned, those of Hutchins were the ones that more particularly pertained to Ohio. Thomas Hutchins, surveyor and engineer and later official geographer of the United States, was a native (1730) of New Jersey. He served in the French and Indian War as member of the 60th Royal American regiment and was thereafter influential in Ohio Valley affairs until his death in 1789. He rendered special service as surveyor and geographer during the first settlement of Ohio by the Ohio Company of Associates. The

### MITCHELL'S OHIO MAP

This is the section covering Ohio taken from the map of John Mitchell, representing the French and British possessions between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi. This map was drawn in 1755 and printed in London in 1773. This reproduction was engraved for the History of Ohio from a photograph taken from the original map now in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.



## THE RISE AND PROGRESS

### MITCHELL'S OHIO MAP

This is the section covering Ohio taken from the map of the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1830. It is a copy of the original map, which was drawn in 1755 and printed in London in 1756. The map was engraved for the History of Ohio by Thomas Hutchins, Esq. and published by J. D. C. Smith, D. C. (London, England).

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earliest geographical description, with a map, of the country from Fort Pitt to Presque Isle, was made by Hutchins in 1760. He also drew a map of the interior of Ohio covered by Bouquet in the expedition of 1764, which map was published in Philadelphia in 1765 and in London in 1766. Hutchins produced many other early maps of the Ohio country and of Virginia, Pennsylvania and other western sections of territory.

In Gist's Journal under date of January 15, 1751, he says: "We left Muskingum and went (five miles) to the White Woman's Creek, on which is a small town, this white woman was taken away from New England, when she was not above ten years old, by the French Indians; she is now upwards of fifty, and has an Indian husband and several children—Her name is Mary Harris, she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England and wonders how the white men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these woods."

The narrative as related by several writers, is that Mary Harris became thoroughly won to her Indian life and happy with her copper colored husband. All went smoothly in their domestic life until one day, supposed to be a short time before Gist met her as above noted, Eagle Feather returned from a hunt or the war-path beyond the Ohio and brought with him another white woman, a trophy of his expedition, and whom he proposed to install in his wigwam. At once the peace and serenity of that wigwam was tempestuously interrupted. This advent of the "new comer," as Mary Harris called the unwelcome rival, was far from hospitable and Eagle Feather encountered a storm

that the forest warrior could not dispel. He reminded Mary she was his property as well as mate and the gentle custom of Indian domesticity permitted him to kill her at will. Taking his new bride by the hand, he departed for the forest, to await the subsidence of Mary's wrath. Returning at night, when Mary was asleep on her buffalo robe, the double-married warrior, lay down to peaceful slumbers, having assigned the "new comer" to a floor couch in the wigwam corner. On the following morning Eagle Feather was found with his head split open, the tomahawk still remaining in the cleft skull. The "new comer" had fled. Suspicion rested upon her and the avenging warriors pursued. She was overtaken, brought back to the scene of the crime and executed with all the horrible Indian accompaniments. It is supposed that this is the execution that Gist witnessed and describes in his Journal, though he does not couple the execution with the murder of Eagle Feather, whose untimely taking off he does not mention. Each woman charged the crime upon the other, but the flight of the "new comer" was taken as circumstantial evidence to corroborate the accusations of Mary Harris.

After this tragic event Mary Harris, it is said, found another Indian husband, and removed west about the time that Captain Pipe and the Wolf tribe of the Delawares migrated from the Muskingum Valley to the Sandusky in 1777-1779. It is further related that the memory of the unfortunate and probably innocent "new comer" was perpetuated in the name of "New-Comers Town," the village to which she fled and where she was overtaken by her pursuers, and that when Netawatwees,


chief of the Delawares, took up his abode at that place (1760), he retained the name of the town as it corresponded to the English meaning of his own. Such in short is the story of Mary Harris. It has been told and retold until the original truth is doubtless much worn and mutilated.

After this digression, we proceed with the thread of Gist's Journal. Gist's trail now leads through Coshocton County, passing (near) Dresden, to Licking Creek on to a "great swamp," the locality of Licking reservoir, known as the "Great Buffalo Swamp." The next point was the "Hock-Hockin"—also known as French Margaret's town—"a small town with only four or five Delaware families," now Lancaster, Fairfield County; thence to Maguck, with ten Indian families, on the Pickaway plains between Scippo Creek and the Scioto, three and a half miles south of Circleville. Gist was now entering the territory of the Shawnees. Proceeding south to Harrickin Tom's or Hurricane Town, he veered to the west and reached the Scioto. On this river, which he calls Sciodoe, Gist stopped at a Delaware town of about twenty families, lodging "at the house of an Indian whose name was Windaughalah, a great man and chief of this Town and much in the English interest." Gist continues, "he entertained us very kindly and ordered a negro man that belonged to him to feed our horses well." This chief was prominent in the subsequent French and Indian War and was the father of the famous head chief and warrior of the Delawares, Buckongehelas. Here a council was held and the Indians invited to Logstown. An interesting stop

was made at the Shawnee Town, "Old Lower Shawnee Town," (Portsmouth) mouth of the Scioto. Gist calls it Shannoah Town, located on both sides of the Ohio, containing about "300 men on the south side and 100 men on the north side with a kind of State House of about 90 feet long with a light cover of bark in which they hold their councils." Ten days were spent here and great councils were held in the "state house." Croghan, Montour and Gist made speeches, urging the Indians to the English side and inviting them to Logstown. The chiefs replied at much length, brief extracts of their speeches being given by Gist in his notes. An "extraordinary kind of a festival" was held during the stay of the Gist party, at which many curious and beastly customs were witnessed. Gist's route from Shawnee Town, by his journal, is somewhat difficult to follow, even on the maps of his time; according to Darlington's notes, he passed through the present counties of Scioto, Adams, Highland, Fayette, Madison, Clarke and Champaign, to West Liberty in Logan County. There he crossed Mad River, which he mistook for the Little Miami, thence to the Twightwee Town or Pickawillany, also designated as Piqua. In this journey of one hundred and fifty miles from Shawnee Town to Piqua, Gist closely observed the country, "all the way," he says, "is a fine, rich, level land, well timbered with large walnut, ash, sugar tree, cherry trees, etc.; it is well watered with a great number of little streams or rivulets, full of beautiful natural meadows, covered with wild rye, blue grass and clover, and abounds with turkey, deer, elk and all sorts of game, particularly buffaloes, thirty or forty of which

### HUTCHINS'S OHIO MAP

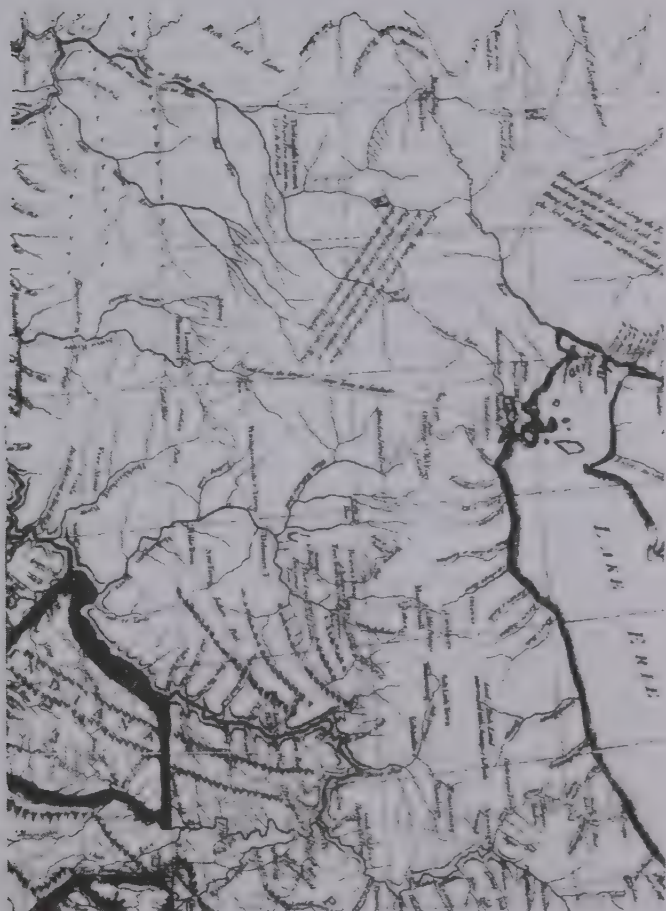
Portion representing Ohio from the map of the "Western Parts of Virginia," made by Thomas Hutchins in 1776 and published in London, 1778. From the original map now in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C. Engraved from a photograph taken for the History of Ohio.



HUTCHINSON'S OHIO MAP

Part of Virginia, made by Thomas Hutchins in 1776 and published in London, 1778. From the original map now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, D. C. 12. v. 1. p. 1. Reproduced from a photograph taken for the History of Ohio.

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...were witnessed. Gist ...  
...by his journal, is ...  
...maps of his discovery ...  
...ough the present ...  
...Figueroa, Mariano ...  
...Liberty in ...  
...River, which ...  
...to the Tula ...  
...as Figueroa ...  
...from San ...  
...the ...  
...and ...  
...with a great number ...  
...of beautiful ...  
...with ...  
...and all sorts ...  
...of white







are frequently seen feeding in one meadow, in short, it wants nothing but cultivation to make it a most delightful country."

The party crossed the Great Miami on a raft of logs, swimming their horses after them, and entered Pickawillany in as imposing a manner, as possible, with colors flying and the guns firing. The Piankeshaw chief, Old Britain, alias La Demoiselle, kindly received them, inviting them to his own house "and set our (English) colors upon the top of it." All the traders and white men gathered to welcome the embassy. Gist writes: "This town consists of about four hundred families and daily increasing, it is accounted one of the strongest Indian towns upon this part of the continent." He then at some length describes the different tribes of the Twightwees, or Miamis, their government, strength, etc. Great councils were held in the "King's House." The usual speeches were made and Old Britain and the great men were presented with "clothes and paint shirts."

While the exchange of courtesies was in full blast there suddenly arrived in town a delegation of four Ottawa Indians from Detroit, an embassy in behalf of the French; they marched in under the French colors and were conducted to the "Long House" and a council was summoned to hear what the French emissaries had to say. The "Pyankeeshee King" set up both the French and English colors in order to appear impartial at the hearing. The Ottawa delegates offered "two small Caggs of brandy that held about seven quarts each and a roll of tobacco of about ten pounds weight." With this as a preliminary "tip"

the Ottawa orator presented the claims of France, and eloquently urged the Twightwees to ally themselves with their brothers in Canada.

Curious conclave on the banks of the Big Miami, in the Ohio capital of the western savages, a sort of miniature and mimic Field of the Cloth of Gold in which France and England contended in their respective displays of power and prodigality for the allegiance of the Indian tribes, as more than two centuries before, the Courts of England and France met in the vale of Andreu and exhibited their rival splendors in order to win the favor of Spain.

Each nation had its hearing before the Pickawillany council, in which the Twightwee chiefs and "big men" sat as judges over the rival claimants. The speeches in brief are reported by Gist, especially the reply of the Twightwee orator who closed by addressing the Ottawas thus: "We have been taken by the hand of our brothers, the English, \* \* \* and we assure you that in that road we will go; and as you threaten us with war in the Spring, we tell you if you are angry, we are ready to receive you and resolve to die here before we will go with you; and that you may know that this is our mind, we give you this string of black wampum."

The presents from Detroit were refused and returned, the French colors taken down and the four Ottawa delegates being dismissed, took their leave of the town and set off for the French fort on the Maumee where they reported that the French friendship had been rejected in the council-house at Piqua and their hostility defied by the Miamis. Gist's party, after the French

leave taking, was invited to a "feather" dance at the king's house, a sort of masque ball as described in his journal.

Croghan presented the Miamis with gifts to the value of £100—\$500—and formed a treaty of alliance in the name of the governor of Pennsylvania with the Twightwees and the Weas, while the "Piankeshaw King" promised Gist that the chiefs of the various tribes would attend the coming meeting at Logstown to make a treaty with Virginia. A formal farewell was given the English party at the close of their two weeks' stay. Old Britain had remained true to his sobriquet. He was still English in his proclivities; poor fellow, that loyalty cost him most dear as we soon shall see. It is not required that we follow the return route of the three agents. Croghan and Montour found their way back through the Ohio country. Gist returned by way of the Lower Shawnee Town, mouth of the Scioto, where he reported to his Indian friends there the excellent results of the Pickawillany negotiations. At this welcome news there was great feasting and speech-making, and the Delawares and Shawnees, "made an entertainment in honour of the late peace with the Western Indians."

Gist now crossed the Ohio, and attended only by a boy companion, abandoning the idea of reaching the falls (at Louisville) because of the Indian hostility in that region, slowly found his way back across the rivers and over the mountains of Kentucky and Virginia, and after many privations and perils reached the Yadkin on May 18, 1751. But there was no one to welcome the wanderer home. The Indians, during

his absence, had ravaged that section and massacred some of the inhabitants, frightening away those who were able to escape. Gist's home was silent and vacant, but his family was safe in a settlement on the Roanoke, some thirty-five miles distant, to which place they had taken timely flight. Christopher Gist's journey, the first one recorded of an Englishman through Ohio, was ended.

While Gist was slowly wading streams and climbing mountains back to Carolina, Croghan and Montour had returned to Pennsylvania and reported to Governor James Hamilton the result of their negotiations at Pickawillany. The governor immediately authorized these two agents to return to Logstown and further clinch the Indian alliance by another distribution of goods, this time to the amount of £700,—\$3,500—provided by the Pennsylvania council. Montour and Croghan thus loaded arrived at Logstown (May 18, 1751) the very day Gist reached his deserted home on the Yadkin. At Logstown the Indians had gathered in great numbers, from the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Wyandots and others. They welcomed the English gift-bearers by firing guns and raising the English flag.

But Croghan and Montour were not to have the field to themselves undisputed, for only two days after their advent, there arrived from the head-waters of the Ohio, the statesman-scout, Joncaire, with a French associate and forty anti-English Iroquois warriors. Joncaire, with the wit of a Frenchman and the eloquence of an Iroquois, had a hearing before the assembled Indians and urged them to repudiate the English and

expel the colonial traders from their country, "otherwise they would be visited with the displeasure of Onontio—the Governor of Canada." A Six-Nation chief, friendly to the English, replied flatly refusing the demands of the French messenger. A day later Croghan, Montour acting as interpreter, addressed the Indian convocation to which many Shawnee and Delaware Indians had come from the Ohio villages. Goods were freely distributed and the Beaver chief of the Delawares and the chiefs of other tribes responded. They would remain steadfast to their English Brothers whom they advised should lose no time in "building a strong house on the River Ohio."

The successful negotiations with the Indians at Logstown by Croghan and Montour was most gratifying to the Pennsylvania governor and council. The agents were well paid and special privileges were granted them. This Logstown gathering of May, 1751, was really but the preparation for the greater meeting held at the same place a year later, and to which the Ohio tribes had been so earnestly invited. At this later meeting (May, 1752) three commissioners of Virginia were present besides Croghan, Gist, Trent and Montour. The main object of the council was to obtain from the Indians a confirmation of the Lancaster Treaty of 1744, by which, according to the Virginians, the Indians had ceded to the King of Great Britain, the right to all the land in the Virginia colony, a very indefinite cession. The Indians, especially the Ohio ones, subsequently claimed not to have so understood the agreement. After much speech-making and plausible explaining by the Virginians, the chiefs acknowl-

edged themselves satisfied and consented to colonial settlements south of the Ohio in the territory claimed by the Virginians, and further granted them permission to erect a fort at the Ohio forks. The leading diplomat in this transaction was Montour, for whose services the Ohio Company allowed ample compensation in money and in addition offered him a thousand acres of land to live on if he would remove to Virginia. That he equally pleased the Indians in his inter-racial dealings, was evidenced by the fact that a few months after this Logstown conference the Six Nations, with much ceremony, chose him as one of their counsellors and gave him a seat at their state conferences when convened at the Onondaga council house.

The English interests seemed now to be in the ascendancy and the Ohio Company was paving the way for a full fruition of its plans. Gist had made two surveying trips for them respectively west and south of the Ohio, during one of which, Washington Irving relates an old Delaware Sachem, meeting Gist, propounded a puzzling question; "the French," said the sachem, "claim all the land on one side of the Ohio, the English claim all the land on the other side—now where does the Indian's land lie?" To which Irving properly adds, Poor Savages! Between their "fathers" the French and their "brothers" the English, they were in a fair way of being most lovingly shoved out of the whole country.

Gist now removed his residence from the Yadkin to the east bank of the Ohio at Shurtees Creek, a short distance below the forks—meeting of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers—where he began the erection of a fortified trading-post.



Colonel Thomas Cresap, residing at Oldtown, undertook to lay out the course of a good road from Will's Creek to the mouth of the Monongahela, and employed as his assistant a friendly Delaware Indian named Nemacolin and they together marked out the road to be followed. It was at first known as Nemacolin's Path. Owing to the friendly favor of the Indians, colonial traders were now rapidly increasing in number throughout the Ohio country. Indeed, the main element of danger to the progress of the colonists seemed not to be from the Indians or the French but from the jealousies and misunderstandings between the Pennsylvanians and Virginians as to the boundaries and extent of their respective charter rights, each province claiming a large part of the Ohio Valley including the site of the proposed fort at the forks of the Ohio.

Meanwhile the French were emboldened to engage in violent measures in retaliation for the slow but stubborn advance of the English. Celoron, "fearless, energetic but haughty and insubordinate,"—as we have seen—had been made commandant at Detroit, by this time possessing a population of five hundred French, the largest Canadian settlement west of Montreal. It can easily be imagined with what satisfaction Celoron received orders from Quebec to spare no means in the attempt to drive the English traders from the Miami country. These orders came from the Marquis de la Jonquiere, heartless, old and avaricious, but of undoubted capacity and courage, who (in 1749) had succeeded Galissoniere as governor of Canada. He spurned the claim that the Six Nations

were English subjects and offered rewards for the scalps of Croghan and other English traders. The latter, Jonquiere was informed, numbered at Pickawillany fifty or more and "were the instigators of revolt and source of all our (French) woes." Jonquiere was not permitted to witness the execution of his orders to Celoron, for dying in March, 1752, the government of Canada passed into the hands of the Marquis Duquesne.

Celoron though impatient to carry out the orders of his government, hesitated from motives of precaution. The Detroit force was unequal to the undertaking which at all hazards must be successful. The Miami Indians were welded to the English, whose traders sold them goods at lower rates than did the French and moreover the British agents distributed gifts of rum and gunpowder with a more lavish hand. The Pickawillany post was the capital of the Ohio Miamis and the commercial center of the colonial traders. Pickawillany, therefore, like Carthage of old, must be destroyed.

Charles Langlade the officer chosen to direct the destruction, was one of the most courageous defenders of the French cause in Canada, and had led a brilliant and conspicuous career. He was the son of a Montreal French officer and a distinguished Indian woman, the sister of the principal chief of the Ottawas, known as King Missowaquet. Langlade was born at his father's trading post at Michilimackinac, a place so extremely picturesque that it has not inappropriately been called the "Venice of the Lakes." Charles Langlade was thus "native and to the manner born," in the French frontier and western Indian life. He lived with a



handsome Indian woman by whom he had a talented son whom he thoroughly educated in the best Canadian schools. Through his mode of life and intimate association with the Indians, Langlade acquired great influence over the tribesmen of the Lake region, especially the Ottawas, the tribe of his mother and "wife." As a boy, Langlade had learned the tactics of the war-path and was so valorous in the contests between the French and English that the Indians bestowed upon him the title of *Akewaugeketauso*, meaning a "military conqueror." In the Mackinac region Langlade gathered two hundred and fifty Ottawa and Chippewa warriors. Parkman in his brief account of this affair calls the latter Ojibwas, for the terms are somewhat synonymous, Chippewa being the popular adaptation of Ojibwa.

With this force of Indians, a small party of French soldiers, a few Canadians and Monsieur St. Orr as military aid, Langlade set out from Detroit in a fleet of many canoes. They paddled to the mouth of the Maumee, which they ascended to Fort Miami, whence the commander led "his greased and painted rabble through the forest to attack the stronghold of *Demoiselle* and his English friends, gathered at his stockade." It was on a June morning (1752) when the wild whooping horde swooped down upon their prey. The squaws working in the surrounding corn-fields fled in terror. Most of the Indian men were absent on their summer hunt. Only eight English traders were in the town and these with *Demoiselle* and his tribesmen, then in the village, made the bravest resistance possible, but they were no match for the Ottawa and Chippewa allies,

aided and directed by the French. It was a hideous and merciless onslaught. The besieging Indians accompanied the rattle of the muskets with fiendish war cries. It was but the work of a few hours and Pickawillany was blotted out. Two of the traders escaped; one was stabbed to death; the others taken prisoners, plundered and sent to Governor Duquesne as evidence of the faithfulness with which the orders to destroy Pickawillany post had been executed by Langlade, "more savage than any Indian in the crowd." Fourteen of the Miamis were shot down, the Demoiselle among them. His body was cut up, boiled and eaten by the inhuman victors who doubtless had not forgotten the repulse the Ottawa ambassadors had received in the council house of the Piankeshaw king, Old Britain, at the time of their visit, while Gist and his party were guests at his "royal" house. The village was destroyed, the houses burned, though the stockade was not entirely demolished.

This tragic scene on the banks of the Big Miami, an event which might be called the preliminary bloodshed, if not the first battle of the French and Indian War, was being enacted while the peace conference was in progress at Logstown on the banks of the Ohio, in which conference the Indians were yielding to the English, the rights the latter had claimed in the Lancaster treaty of 1744. In this conference (1752) as already noted, the Pennsylvanians and Virginians were represented by Croghan and Montour, Gist and Captain William Trent.

At this point Captain Trent commands our attention. He was a native Pennsylvanian; in the late King

George's War, he commanded four companies under Governor Clinton of New York and saw service about Saratoga. Governor Hamilton (Pennsylvania) appointed Trent to civil and judicial office and employed him as messenger to the Ohio Indians. In 1750 Trent formed a partnership with George Croghan, who was his brother-in-law, and for six years the firm carried on extensive and lucrative trade with the Ohio Indians. In 1752 Captain Trent was employed by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia as agent of that colony to attend the Logstown conference and while it was in progress he was dispatched with messages and presents to the Ohio Miamis. Of this journey Trent kept a faithful diary, which journal, with much valuable additional and explanatory matter was published and edited some years ago by Alfred T. Goodman, at that time (1871) secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society. From this journal of Trent and Mr. Goodman's annotations, we have obtained somewhat of our knowledge of the Pickawillany destruction. In this Ohio journey of Captain Trent to Pickawillany or Picktown, as he calls it, he did not know at the time he set out, that the post had been destroyed and depopulated. Trent followed mainly the previous route of Gist, proceeding from Logstown (June 21), by way Muskingum and Meguck to the Lower Shawnee Town, where he was ceremoniously and noisily received. Here two of the English traders, Thomas Burney and Andrew McBruer, who had escaped the massacre at Pickawillany, appeared and told Trent of the French-Miami invasion and the Pickawillany annihilation. Trent in his diary relates the account as given by the traders, thus affording us the report of eye-witnesses.

At the Shawnee Town Trent held councils with the Shawnees and was requested by "Scaruneate, with some of the Six Nations" to accompany them to the vicinity of Picktown "to bring the remaining Twightwees this way." Trent with "twenty-two men and boys, whites and Indians" set out for the site of Picktown, which he reached (July 12). His party viewed the deserted village over which two French flags were flying. These were taken down and the English flag hoisted. The purpose of his mission had of course been defeated by the destruction of the post, and Trent returned to Shawnee Town, where further councils were held at which were present "Old Britain's wife and son with about a dozen women and children," refugees from the Pickawillany site. Many speeches were made and Trent says, the "old Pianguisha King's wife" got the following speech made to all nations in alliance with them, with a string of black and white wampum; "Brothers, the French have killed my husband. I am now left a poor lonely woman, with one son, who I recommend to the care of the English, Six Nations, Shawnees and Delawares, and desire they will take care of him." After proceeding to Logstown, Trent says, "we gave the clothes, by advice of the Six Nations, in the following manner: The scarlet cloak to Old Britain's son, a young lad; the hat and jacket, with the shirt and stockings, to the Pianguisha king; we clothed Old Britain's wife, and gave the rest of the goods to the young Pianguisha king, the Turtle, and two more men of the nation, for the use of the Twightwees; and I persuaded an Indian trader to carry the goods for them, who promised to

do it, and he set off with the horses for the lower Shawnee town for that purpose." It should be noted that Old Britain's son did not succeed to the kingship, but that office went to another one known as the Turtle, in Indian language, Mushequanockque.

We have dwelt with some detail upon the Pickawillany event and its accompanying incident of Trent's journey, because it was one of great historic importance for as Winsor remarks, "by this attack the valleys of the Maumee and Miami were delivered from the presence of the pestilent English." He further says, "the legend on Evans' later map says that it was this success which prompted the French to undertake their ambitious scheme of establishing armed posts throughout the Ohio Valley and so finally provoked the armed outbreak under Washington."

The offensive movement was inaugurated by Governor Duquesne who early in the spring of 1753 launched forth from Montreal a force of nearly fifteen hundred men, comprising French Colonial troops, Canadians and Indian attendant bands. This aggregation, so large and imposing to the native savages that they said the boats for the transportation thereof covered the lakes and rivers from Montreal to Presque Isle, was at first commanded by Marin, an able officer, with one Péan, second in rank. The vanguard of this invading army landed at Presque Isle, where the city of Erie now stands. Here was built a "fort of squared chestnut logs, and when it was finished they cut a road of several leagues through the woods to Riviere aux Boeufs now French Creek. At the further end of this road they began another wooden fort and called it Fort

Le Boeuf." From this latter location, when the water was high, they could descend French Creek to the Allegheny, at which point, the site of Venango Village, a third fort was projected but not erected.

This chain of forts, it is easily seen, would have protected the French passage from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Ohio. The expedition had expected to proceed down the Ohio, establishing other strongholds in its wake, but disease made such deadly havoc among the men that some three hundred were retained to garrison the forts built while the rest were sent back to Montreal. The dying Marin, "gruff, choleric and sixty-three," was superseded in the autumn by Legardeur de Saint-Pierre who made his headquarters at Fort Le Boeuf.

These defiant demonstrations and warlike measures by the French thoroughly aroused both the English provinces and the Ohio Indians who were friendly to the colonies. The Half King Tanacharison hastened from his home at Logstown to Le Boeuf, "with a strong party along with him, to warn the French off their land entirely" or suffer the attacks of the allied tribesmen, but as he afterward related to Washington the doughty Tanacharison was received by Marin "with such contemptuous haughtiness that he went home shedding tears of rage and mortification." At the same time (August, 1753) Captain William Trent was dispatched by Governor Dinwiddie as a commissioner to remonstrate against these French encroachments, but Trent got no farther than Logstown where he became alarmed at the threatening condition of affairs. He contented himself with carrying out Dinwiddie's



instructions to examine the site selected by the Ohio Company Commissioners for a fort at the river forks, a location long before suggested by Tanacharison and destined to be the storm center for many years of bitter and bloody warfare.

Governor Robert Dinwiddie, really lieutenant governor of Virginia, but acting in place of the titular governor, Lord Albermarle, whose post was a sinecure, realized that the time had arrived for decisive results of some kind; the interests of England, of the Virginia Province and the Ohio Company, in which Dinwiddie himself was a stockholder, demanded prompt action. Dinwiddie determined on one more attempt at evading war by dispatching an emissary to the French forts to demand of the French that they desist from intruding upon the territory of the King of Great Britain.





CHAPTER XI.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S MISSION



**F**OR his special messenger on this errand Dinwiddie chose George Washington.

Certainly Washington needs no introduction to our readers, but for the better understanding of his relation to our story, we briefly review some of the phases of his boyhood which bear more or less directly upon his interest and activities in the West, for he was not only the Father of his Country but also the champion of the West and in large sense one of the founders of Ohio.

While the French and British powers were "scoring" for the opening struggle in the conquest of the Ohio Valley and the Great West, Washington, who was to be the most conspicuous figure in the prelude and the unrivaled hero in the subsequent drama, was a mere boy tramping the almost untrodden backwoods of Virginia and Maryland, expanding his lungs with the mountain air, toughening his muscles with mountain climbing, learning precious lessons from the preceptor, Nature, acquiring the physical prowess, the powers of endurance and self-restraint and the mental alertness that so admirably fitted him for the duties that later crowded thick upon him. George Washington was a typical product of the rough wilderness plus the innate nobility of character and genius of mind with which nature endowed him.

A century before Celoron and Gist traversed Ohio, the Washingtons had left the mother country and settled in Virginia; and their immediate descendants, in the male line, were men of large and powerful physique, resolute and persevering temperament, dominant, if not violent, in disposition, not averse to war,

religious in the Church of England way, thrifty and aristocratic. Into this family came George in 1732, at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Virginia, his mother, Mary Ball, being the second wife of his father, Augustine Washington, who, at his death in 1743, left large land estates. To Lawrence, elder son by his first wife, Jane Butler, the father bequeathed Mt. Vernon and two thousand five hundred acres, with slaves, iron works, mills, etc. In the event of Lawrence's death without issue, this property was to pass to George. It subsequently so passed. To Augustine, second son by the first wife, the father left the Wakefield estates; small allotments were made respectively to Samuel, John and Charles, younger full brothers of George, and to Betty, his own sister. To George was devised the farm on the Rappahannock and portions of land on Deep Run.

Thus George, at the age of eleven, became a landed proprietor with most flattering prospects. Like many of his youthful companions, he might have made a profession of being a "gentleman," which meant going to Oxford for an education, returning to Virginia and spending life in fox-hunting, cock fighting, slave bossing and rum drinking. George was better inclined and better advised. He reserved himself for higher pursuits. Dame Fortune, ever looking for subjects worthy her favoritism, supplemented his common-sense and high-mindedness. His two half brothers made excellent matrimonial alliances. Lawrence married Anne, daughter of William Fairfax, proprietor of Belvoir, a plantation in the neighborhood of Mt. Vernon; Augustine won for his bride Anne, daughter and co-heiress

of William Aylett, Esq., of Westmoreland County. George, for some years after the death of his father, spent his time alternately at Wakefield, the home of Augustine, and at Mt. Vernon, the home of Lawrence. Both these elder brothers were refined and dignified men; the residence of each was the abode of colonial culture and the resort of the best Virginia families. George therefore had unusual opportunities of acquiring the sentiments and manners of "good society," but he was early made to understand that he was not to grow up a genteel loafer. He must do something in the aid of his own support and that of his mother.

His brothers looked with disfavor upon the luxurious and loose life of the younger sons of the Virginia planters. Yet to engage in trade or work as a clerk was not to be considered; for the scion of a wealthy family that would not be tolerated. He would lose caste with his class. His respectability must be preserved, and so the choice of a vocation was the perplexing question. Inclination and opportunity combined to open to him the avenue in accord with his aptitude and one that would best qualify him for the lofty stations awaiting him. While abiding with his brother Augustine at Wakefield, he attended the nearby school of Oak Grove, kept by a Mr. Williams. George here discovered little taste for Latin, history or literature, but great fondness for mathematics. With youthful zest he accompanied his teacher when the latter surveyed some meadows on Bridge's Creek. It was the realization of his predilection. Working out a mathematical problem, staking off the bounds of unmeasured land, tramping the woods in all their primeval splendor,

offered a mingling of labor and delight that charmed the boy. He would be a surveyor. Moreover it was a gentleman's business, in great demand and incidentally a lucrative one.

Mr. Williams arranged that George be permitted to further inform himself by attending upon Mr. James Genn, the official surveyor of Westmoreland County. After some years' residence with Augustine at Wakefield, George took final leave of school and transferred his home to that of Lawrence at Mt. Vernon, when it was definitely to be decided what he should do for a life calling. He could easily have made his own choice, but he was only fifteen and the elder brother was the arbiter. The father-in-law of Lawrence, William Fairfax, was cousin to and business agent of Thomas, Lord Fairfax of Fairfax County, one of the largest land proprietors in the Virginia colony, his estates numbering a million five hundred thousand acres. His vast domain lay between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers and extended over the Blue Ridge Mountains, comprising, among other lands, a great portion of the Shenandoah Valley. At Mt. Vernon Lord Fairfax was a frequent and welcome guest, and there he came in contact with George Washington. A great friendship sprang up between the wealthy, scholarly, blasé bachelor lord of sixty and the young boy, just entering his teens and wrestling in his earnest, frank, enthusiastic way with the problems that confronted him on the threshold of life. Lord Fairfax approved the boy's selection of surveying as a profession. It was honorable and profitable. He could at once set up the apprentice in business in the opening

of his lordship's vast lands. So choice and chance made George Washington a surveyor.

Through the influence of his benefactor, Lord Fairfax, George was made a surveyor of the county of Culpepper and a little later William and Mary College gave him a surveyor's commission. It was in the spring of 1748 that the young surveyor with George Fairfax, James Genn, a pack horse and servants, entered upon his first important service. Through the melting snows and the swollen streams they wended their way through the Ashby's Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains into the Shenandoah Valley, near where the river of that romantic name joins the Potomac. What a magnificent scene met the enchanted gaze of the youthful surveyor—a grand panorama of delectable hills and expanding valley cleft with the winding river, and all clad in the white cloak of winter and overhung with the azure arch of heaven. It was Washington's introduction to the splendors of Nature. He describes in his diary of that trip, the joy of outdoor life, the giant trees, the sweeping streams, camping in the wilds of the forest, sleeping in the open air on the ground with leaves for a bed and a bear skin for wrappings; shooting the wild game for food and his "agreeable surprise at ye sight of thirty Indians coming from war with only one scalp."

On this journey he learned how the French were looking with jealous eyes to the western world and how a struggle was on between them and his country. Washington's words were brief but methodical, showing "that keen observation of Nature and men and daily incidents which he developed to such good pur-





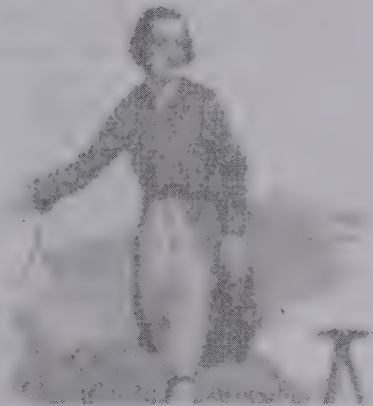


pose in after life." It was a rough and tumble life, but a priceless preparatory school for the future hero of Valley Forge and Yorktown. He states in his first journal that he was to survey certain lands for the Ohio Company, but there was no word that he really did so. For several years the industrious surveyor pursued his profession, mostly in the employ of Lord Fairfax. In 1751 he accompanied Lawrence to the Barbadoes Island whither the elder brother went in search of health. But the voyage was unavailing, and returning to Mt. Vernon, Lawrence there died in July, 1752. It was the same year that George was summoned to Williamsburg, the seat of the Virginia Government, and by Governor Robert Dinwiddie appointed Adjutant General of the Northern Division of the Virginia Militia, with the rank of major, on pay of one hundred and fifty pounds a year. He was thus preferred over many older candidates because of his sobriety, faithfulness and the proven evidence that he carried an old head on young shoulders. In appearance he easily passed for thirty, though he was but nineteen. Governor Dinwiddie told the young major of his interest in the Ohio Company and the coming struggle between France and England for the Ohio Valley. The chain of forts established by the French from Lake Erie to the Ohio must be broken in twain. Virginia must send an envoy to present the claims of the Colonies to the Ohio Valley and to warn the French that further advances by them would be met by force of arms.

According to the instructions given Washington by the Virginia governor the former was forthwith to

### WASHINGTON AS A SURVEYOR

George Washington, at the age of sixteen, as a surveyor for Lord Fairfax in the Shenandoah Valley. A reproduction of an engraving from the original painting by Chapell.



WASHINGTON AS A SURREYOR

George Washington at the age of sixteen, as a surveyor of Lord Fairfax in the Shenandoah Valley. A reproduction of an engraving from the original painting by Chubb.

"I have seen in this for the  
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 "in the employ of the  
 "supplied Lawrence to  
 "the elder brother went  
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 "of the Northern Divi-  
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 "told the young man  
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 "England for the Ohio  
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 "Ohio must be broken in two  
 "to prevent the claims of  
 "and to warn the French  
 "they would be met by force

to the instructions given Washington by the President, and the former was forthwith to





repair to Logstown and having there informed himself where the French forces had posted themselves, thereupon proceed to such place and deliver the governor's letter to the chief commanding French officer and secure an answer thereto. That letter set forth that the lands of the River Ohio were so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain that it was a matter of equal concern and surprise for the Virginia governor to learn that French soldiers were erecting fortresses and making settlements upon that river, within his British Majesty's dominion. He had therefore sent George Washington, one of the adjutant generals of the forces of this dominion, to complain of the encroachments and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations. It was his duty, Dinwiddie wrote, to "Require your peaceable departure and that you would forbear prosecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understanding which His Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian (French) King."

Washington kept a daily journal of this embassy, a journal that was to become a famous document, containing his first lessons in statesmanship.

Leaving (October 30, 1753) Williamsburg, the provincial capital of Virginia, Washington proceeded to Fredericksburg, where he secured Jacob Van Braam, a Dutch fencing master and an old soldier, as his French interpreter and John Davidson as his Indian interpreter. At Will's Creek, the store-house station of the Ohio Company, he engaged Christopher Gist as his guide and hired as his servitors Barney Currin

and John McGuire, Indian Traders, and Henry Stewart and William Jenkins. Gist also kept a journal of this journey, which was preserved and has been frequently reprinted. With baggage and pack horses the party reached, at the mouth of Turtle Creek on the Monongahela River, the residence of John Frazier, a well-known Indian trader, who had been driven out of the Venango village by the French. Here Washington learned of the death of the French General Marin, and of the return home of most of the French troops. The party passed on to the Forks which Washington "spent some time in viewing" and thought "extremely well fitted for a fort as it had absolute command of both rivers." At the village of Shingiss, they called on the Delaware chief of that name and invited him to accompany them to Logstown, which invitation he willingly accepted. At Logstown, where a stay of four days was made, Washington held many councils with the Half King Tanacharison, also Monakatoocha, alias Scarocooyadi, or Scarouady, an Oneida chief and the next in command, and other chiefs and sachems of the mixed tribes friendly to the English. All being in readiness the party, including Tanacharison, Jeskake, an old Shannoah sachem, White Thunder, keeper of the speech belts, and an Indian hunter, set out for Venango, "an old Indian town, sixty miles from Logstown." On arriving at Venango, Washington beheld "with anger and shame" the French flag flying over the quarters of the commandant, the wily Captain Joncaire, who received the English party with all French etiquette and courtesy, inviting them to dinner. At this hospitality Washington reports the wine flowed



freely and the French tongues were indiscreetly loosened, while Washington soberly and attentively listened. He writes "they told me that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d, they will do it and keep it." The English, they admitted, could raise more men, but their operations were so slow and dilatory, that they could not interfere with any undertakings of the French, who had an undoubted right to the Ohio River from the discovery of La Salle. Joncaire made presents to the Indians of the Washington party "and applied liquour so fast that they were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the warning which was given them."

When Washington got the Indians sufficiently sober to travel, accompanied by La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, the party moved on to Le Boeuf. According to the diary of Washington, Fort Le Boeuf consisted of four houses, in form of a hollow square, the bastions of which were made of piles driven in the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port-holes for cannon and loop-holes for small arms to fire through. There were several barracks without the fort, for the soldier's dwellings, covered, some with bark and some with boards. About a hundred soldiers exclusive of officers garrisoned the fort. At this fort the provincial boy messenger met "the elderly gentlemen, with the air of a soldier," Legardeur de Saint Pierre, a tried officer and explorer who had recently returned from a trip to the far west in which he had reached the Rocky Mountains. He was a shrewd and

plausible schemer of the Machiavellian type. While the French officers were consulting over the contents of Dinwiddie's letter, Washington with soldierlike qualities was quietly taking notes of the size, strength and contents of the fort. There was much diplomatic sparring and busy intrigues in which the French tried to induce the Indians to desert the English. French liquor was plentiful and Saint Pierre assured Washington that the country belonged to the French and that no Englishman had a right to trade upon the waters of the Ohio. Receiving Saint Pierre's sealed reply to Dinwiddie's letter, Washington and his party began their return, most tedious and dangerous owing to the season of the year, the month of December. The cold was severe, the streams frozen over, the ground covered with snow, the trees and underbrush coated with ice; the travelers were often compelled to unload and carry their canoes by land and ply their way as best they could through almost impassable woods and swamps. At Venango, on the return, Washington parted with the Logstown Indians, put himself in an Indian hunting dress and prepared to continue on foot, his horses, jaded and worn, being hardly able to carry the packs. Shortly thereafter the Major, as Gist called Washington, put the cavalcade in charge of Van Braam and then with the necessary papers and traveling kit on his back, with only Gist as a companion, he pushed on by the shortest route possible for his destination. While passing, on the way to Shannopin's Town, a place called Murdering Town, the two travelers fell in with a party of French Indians, "who laid in wait for us." One of these offered to act as guide and was

accepted. He kept doggedly ahead, leading the way, when on emerging from a clump of woods the Indian guide suddenly turned, deliberately levelled his gun and fired at Washington. But the young adjutant general was destined for a great career, his time had not come, and that miraculous charm of life which he ever bore, protected him. This incident Washington barely mentions in his diary, but Gist gives a full account in his journal and says that he wished to instantly kill the murderous savage, but Washington humanely prevented the justifiable act. The Indian guide was simply dismissed.

A day or two later while attempting to cross the Allegheny River on an improvised raft of logs, Washington fell between the jammed cakes of ice in the cold water some ten feet deep and barely saved himself by clinging to one of the raft logs which floated to a nearby island. Half frozen in his water-soaked clothes Washington, with his companion, found his way to John Frazier's, where they remained several days. At the mouth of the Youghiogheny River, the travelers called upon Queen Aliquippa, "who expressed great concern that we had passed her in going to the fort." Washington appeased her for the past neglect by presenting the Queen with a watch coat and a bottle of rum, "which latter she thought was much the better present of the two." Arriving at Gist's home on the Monongahela, the travelers separated and Washington, having purchased a horse, continued alone, reaching Williamsburg January 16, 1754. It was Washington's initial diplomatic experience and his first acquaintance with the Ohio country, and adds Irving, "It is an expedi-

tion that may be considered the foundation of his fortune for from that moment he was the rising hope of Virginia."

Washington's journal of this memorable embassy was on his return submitted to the Virginia House of Burgesses, ordered printed and was copied into nearly all the newspapers of the other colonies, sent to London and there published under the auspices of the British Government. Numerous reprints have been made and edited by many historical writers. Our study of it is from the copy published in full in *The Olden Time*; a monthly publication, long since discontinued, devoted to the production of documents relating to the early exploration and settlement of the country around the head of the Ohio. This journal at once made the young Virginian adjutant general famous throughout the colonies and in the mother country. George Washington, who had so courageously and sagaciously performed the delicate duty of this mission was the international hero of the hour.

CHAPTER XII.  
THE OPENING SKIRMISH



THE reply of Saint Pierre, borne by Washington to Dinwiddie, was to the effect that the commandant at Le Boeuf would transmit the communication of the Virginia governor to the Marquis Duquesne at Quebec, to whom it better belonged to "set forth the evidence and reality of the rights of the King, my master, upon the lands situated along the River Ohio and to contest the pretensions of the King of Great Britain." Such answer was a flaunt that the French would not yield in their claims or plans. The letter was evidently only a pretext to gain time. Dinwiddie was not to be deceived by such a ruse, he was a mettlesome Scotchman, full of fight and not to be bluffed. With the approval of the Council and the support of the House of Burgesses, which voted ten thousand pounds for the expense of an expedition, the governor resolved to enlist three hundred men, to be divided into six companies, with Colonel Joshua Fry as chief officer, while Washington, who had declined the colonelcy, modestly alleging lack of sufficient experience, was made lieutenant-colonel and second in command. Cannon and military supplies were placed in readiness at Alexandria. That no time be lost in waiting for the enlistment and equipment of troops, Captain William Trent, familiar with the frontier involved, was hastened ahead with orders to enroll men among the traders and back-settlers and make all despatch to the Ohio Forks and there erect a fort before the French could preëempt the situation. Trent acted promptly, raised a company of half a hundred men or more, and marched to the mouth of the Redstone Creek, where the Ohio Company had erected

a temporary storehouse, in which to place the supplies, thence to be carried to the mouth of the Monongahela. By the middle of February (1754) Trent and his company were at the Forks, engaged in building the wooden stockade as ordered. The work was progressing, "which," George Croghan who was present says, "seemed to give the Indians great pleasure and put them in high spirits," when Trent left the work, yet uncompleted, in charge of Lieutenant John Frazier. This officer while on a journey to his home, at Turtle Creek, ten miles distant, passed the temporary command on to a subordinate officer, one Ensign Ward.

The building of the fort was by this time well under way, when a body of several hundred French troops, the American historians say a thousand, but that is improbable, Kingsford, the Canadian historian, says five hundred, which is more likely, with eighteen pieces of cannon, "in sixty batteaux, and three hundred canoes," under command of Captain Contrecoeur, suddenly came down the Allegheny River from Venango and surprised Ward and his forty-one fort builders, who were ordered instantly to surrender. Ward in his perplexity counseled with Tanacharison who was present at the fort making. The wise Half-King advised delay till one of the absent commanding officers could be reached. Contrecoeur brooked no postponement, the incipient stockade must be evacuated instant. There was no alternative and Ward acceded to the demands for capitulation and gave up the fort, but was permitted to retire with his men, withdrawing to Will's Creek, where he broke the news of the ill-fated ending of the expedition.



The French who had thus succeeded in the first encounter, enlarged and completed the fort and called it Duquesne, after the French governor of Canada, garrisoning it with a large force under such officers as Jumonville, De Villiers and La Force, Contrecoeur being in command.

The day of parleying had passed. It was now a question of the greater force of arms. Dinwiddie called on the other colonies to make common cause against the French, and they began to respond with money and men. Colonel Fry being incapacitated by illness for the field, the command in chief, in spite of his disinclination, fell upon Washington and the last of April the latter set out from Will's Creek at the head of one hundred and sixty men, having among his officers Lieutenant Jacob Van Braam.

Washington was to proceed over Nemacolin's path, henceforth to be known as Washington's road, which had to be widened and leveled for the passage of soldiers and artillery, to Redstone and thence to the Forks. Young Washington was expected to retrieve the loss sustained by the misbehavior of Trent, who, Washington wrote "has been very tardy and has convinced the world of what they before suspected—his great timidity."

The progress of Washington's little army was difficult and tedious, underbrush had to be cleared, great trees had to be cut away, rocks removed and bridges built; four miles a day was the speed attained. From the traders and Indians fleeing from the Canadian invasion, Washington daily received news of the approach of the French. We need not follow this

march in minute detail for it has been told time and again, in standard American histories—Sparks, Irving, Parkman, Bancroft, Avery,—Washington's own journal and letters at the time, being the surest authority.

The young commander, for he was scarcely twenty-two, reached the Youghiogheny, where a bridge was being constructed, when a message was brought to him from his old friend Tanacharison, then with his people near the Monongahela River, warning the colonial commander to be on his guard as a party of the French was advancing from the Forks. Such indeed was the case; the French force was paddling up the Monongahela to the mouth of Redstone Creek. Washington, not to be entrapped unprepared, took his position at a place called the Great Meadows, a long, level tract in a wide gap, bordered on either side by wooded hills, that on the west being Laurel Hill, and that on the east belonging to what is known as the Woodcock Range. The exact site selected and described by Washington as "a charming field for an encounter," was on a small branch of the Great Meadows Run. Here he cleared the underbrush, threw up an intrenchment, made ready to defend himself, and waited events.

Christopher Gist arrived, from his home, some twelve miles north, to tell Washington that La Force, "a bold enterprising man, and a person of great subtlety and cunning" and fifty men were only a few miles away. Meanwhile Tanacharison with some friendly Ohio Indians was advancing from the Ohio, to the aid of Washington. When about six miles distant from Great Meadows, the Half King sent a scout to inform

Washington that the French detachment was in his (Half King's) vicinity. Washington immediately selected a band of forty men, leaving the rest to guard the camp, and set off to join the Half King. It was night, as the colonel's report states, "black as pitch," and the rain heavy, the paths narrow and intricate. It was a march up and down the steep hill to La Force's concealed position in a "low, obscure place." Washington in his letter to Dinwiddie says: "I set out with forty men before ten (P. M.) and it was from that time till near sunrise before we reached the Indian's camp, having marched in small paths through a heavy rain and a night as dark as it is possible to conceive; we were often tumbling over one another, and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes search could not find the path again." This march of five miles required ten hours, a weary drag at the rate of a mile in two hours. "Beside this all-night march from Great Meadows to Washington's Spring," says Hulbert, "Wolfe's ascent to the Plains of Abraham at Quebec was a pastime." And after visiting both localities mentioned, the present writer is prepared to confirm the truth of the comparison. The English reached the Half King's camp at early morning,

"And the woods against the stormy sky  
Their giant branches tossed."

Joined by the Half King and his associate sachems, Scarouady, also spelled Scarooyadi, Monakatoocha—likewise Monakatuatha—and their followers, who composed the left wing, Washington advanced to the encounter against La Force and the French. The skirmish was short, sharp and decisive, lasting "only

about fifteen minutes." It was Washington's first battle, and in a letter to his brother, describing the affair, he wrote, "the right wing where I stood was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire; I heard the bullets whistle, and believe me, there is something charming in the sound." Thus the warrior Washington was born and received his "baptism of fire," in the heart of the gloomy forest on the mountain sides of Laurel Hill, between the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela, barely sixty miles from the banks of the Ohio, in the valley of which latter river, this little battle was really fought, and "judge it as we may," says Parkman, "this obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire."

Washington reported, "We killed ten, wounded one and took twenty-one prisoners." Only one Canadian escaped. Washington had one man killed and three wounded. Among the prisoners was La Force, and among those killed was Coulon de Jumonville, whom the Half King boasted he dispatched with his tomahawk. It was claimed by the French that Jumonville was an ambassador, under military escort, on a mission as a civil messenger to warn the English not to trespass on the French territory, and that his "killing off" under the circumstances, was in violation of the usage of nations, as no declaration of war had yet been made. This accusation by the French led to many governmental charges pro and con and to much crimination and recrimination, but after examination by the Virginia House of Burgesses, Washington's first victory was declared by that body, untarnished as to his honor or soldiership. The claim, adverse to Washing-

ton, was only a phase of French duplicity. Washington in his letter to Governor Dinwiddie giving all particulars of the skirmish said: "these officers pretend they were coming on as an embassy, but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring as your honor will see by the instructions and summons inclosed. These instructions were to reconnoitre the country, roads, creeks, etc., to the Potomac." He continues that these "enterprising gentlemen were purposely chose out to get intelligence, \* \* \* which could be through no other view than to get sufficient reënforcements to fall upon us immediately after."

William Makepeace Thackeray, that master of English novelists, speaking of this incident—of Washington's first battle—in his realistic and partly historic story the "Virginians," comments thus on Washington: "It was strange that in a savage forest of Pennsylvania, a young Virginian officer should fire a shot, and waken up a war which was to last for sixty years, which was to cover his own country and pass into Europe, to cost France her American colonies, to sever ours from us, create the great western republic, to rage over the Old World when extinguished in the New; and of all the myriads engaged in the vast contest, to leave the prize of the greatest fame with him who struck the first blow."

Washington now fell back to his camp at Great Meadows, where he completed the entrenchments already begun and called the crude, earth-packed palisades, forming a triangular enclosure of about a third of an acre, "Fort Necessity." The name was suggested by the scarcity of provisions and ammunition

and the deprivations endured by the garrison. To this fortification came the Half King Tanacharison and Queen Aliquippa and "about twenty-five or thirty Indian families, making in all about eighty or one hundred persons, including women and children." A band of Shawnees from the Ohio and many Indian traders were also among the incomers. Washington sent his prisoners, taken in the encounter with La Force, to Winchester and the returning officers informed him of the death of Colonel Fry and the formal appointment of himself to full command.

Dinwiddie issued a proclamation granting two hundred thousand acres of Virginia land on the Ohio River, to be distributed among the troops who should engage in the proposed expedition and releasing the same from quit rents for fifteen years. Companies were being organized, not only by Virginia but also by Maryland, Pennsylvania, Carolina, New York and other colonies; Dinwiddie also sent Gist and other messengers to the Catawbias, Cherokees, Chickasaws and the Iroquois of the Ohio, urging them "to take up the hatchet," against the French. Warlike preparations were rapidly maturing in all directions.

Meanwhile additional troops, including an independent South Carolina Company under Captain Mackey, reached Washington in his little Fort Necessity, until he had some four hundred soldiers in or about the enclosure, which as Sparks describes, "was situate in a level meadow, about two hundred and fifty yards broad and covered with long grass and low bushes; the foot of the nearest hill came within one hundred yards of the fort and at one place within sixty."



Just before noon on July 3d there appeared, from among the trees on the hillside facing the fort, Captain De Villiers, brother of Jumonville, "eager to avenge the death of his relative," at the head of more than five hundred French and some four hundred Indian allies, the latter a motley aggregation representing nine different tribes. The skirmish lasted throughout the day; the French and Indians skulking under cover and getting as near the fort as the protecting trees would permit. The rain fell in torrents, nearly drowning the English soldiers in the stockade trenches, where the men stood knee-deep in the water and soft mud. At eight o'clock at night the French requested a parley. It was held in the rain by the light of a candle fitfully sputtering in the wet wind, Van Braam acting as interpreter. Washington, realizing the inequality of the contest on his part, his troops and ammunition being water-soaked, the enemy far greater, indeed more than double, in numbers, agreed to a capitulation, which permitted him to retire with all his garrison and return peacefully to his own country, carrying with him all that belonged to his troops except the swivels or small cannons. Early on the morning of July 4th, Washington, with his weary, mud-bespattered troops marched from the fort, "his regimental colors borne in front, and the men carrying on their backs their wounded comrades and such of their baggage as they were able to convey in this way." Though beaten, the young Virginian proudly withdrew with the honors of war. It was Washington's first defeat and his only surrender. According to Kingsford—the historian of Canada—the French lost seventy-

two in killed and wounded and the English seventy, the latter number tallies closely with the report of Washington. The French tore down the palisades of Fort Necessity and marched back to Fort Duquesne.

Washington and his little army "with all lost save honor," wended their weary way back, as best they could, without horses or cattle, to Will's Creek. The French and Indian War had thus begun. The Half King, who had witnessed it all, expressed himself as perfectly disgusted with the white man's mode of warfare. The "French," he said, "were cowards; the English fools," neither knew how to fight; "Washington," he told Conrad Weiser, "was a good natured man, but had no experience and would by no means take advice from the Indians, but was always driving them on to fight by his directions; that he lay at one place from one full moon to another, and made no fortifications at all, except that little thing upon the meadow, where he thought the French would come up to him in open field, whereas had he taken advice and built such fortifications as he (Half King) had advised, he might easily have beat off the French."

After the Fort Necessity defeat, the Half King took his wife and children to a place of safety; soon thereafter he fell ill and died, at Aughquick. In his death the English lost a faithful friend. Tanacharison was succeeded as Half King by Scarouady.

Kingsford states De Villiers' victory removed all opposition to the French possession of the Ohio. No English trader dared show himself and "the whole of the Indians declared in favor of the French" as it seemed that the Canadian power was firmly established



and not again to be disputed for "nearly all the western Indians drew their scalping knives for France," as Stone, in his life of Johnson, puts it; "thus were the French left in undisputed possession of the basin of the Ohio; and the evening guns, from the waters of Lake Erie to the delta of the Mississippi, saluted the lillies of France, which now waved proudly in the evening breeze."

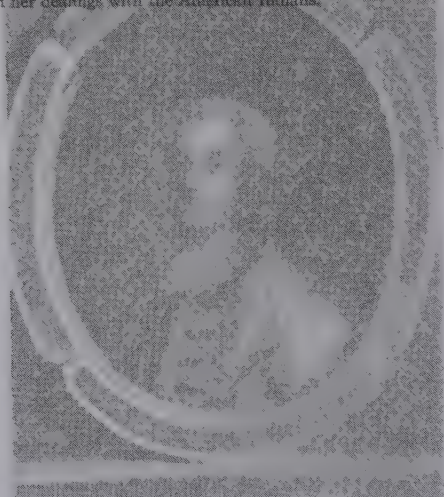
The contest for the Ohio country was now on in dead earnest. England sprang to arms. No more backwoods squabbles and Indian bush-whackings for her! His Majesty King George would send a few choice battalions to America and end this ridiculous situation without further child's play. The royal government, thereupon ordered to the colonies regiments of troops, the flower of the British army, some of the bravest of the brave. The French government at the same time began buckling on its armor. Large contingents of soldiers were made ready for Canada. And now while London and Paris are busy making ready for the war in America over the Ohio country, the colonial interests on each side strive to secure the alliance of the Indians. As Parkman notes, at this point, there was demand for joint action by the English colonies in making treaties with the Indians; "the practice of separate treaties made by each province in its own interest had bred endless disorders; the cohesion of all the tribes had been so shaken and the efforts of the French to alienate them were so vigorous and effective, that not a moment was to be lost." Joncaire had gained over most of the Senecas; Picquet, a Jesuit missionary, was strongly influencing the

Onondagas; and the Mohawks offended at the encroachments upon their land by the Dutch were looking to the French for redress. The New York provincial authorities in alarm called upon William Johnson to stem the Iroquois stampede setting in towards the French cause.

For many years previous to this time and for many years thereafter, Sir William Johnson was a prominent and forceful personage in the Indian and frontier affairs, especially of the Ohio country. He was a talented and energetic military officer, born (1715) in County Meath, Ireland. An unfortunate love romance in his native country drove him in 1738 to America, where he was given charge of the landed property of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, in the region of the Mohawk Valley. Here Johnson located, engaging extensively in the Indian trade and acquiring thereby great wealth. Dealing fairly and generously with the Indians and learning their language, he acquired their confidence and their admiration. He conformed to their customs and mode of life and was adopted, as a sachem, into the Mohawk tribe. After the death of his German wife, Catherine Wisenberg, he took Mary, a sister of the famous Mohawk chief, Brant, to his luxurious home to serve him as his wife. By this Molly Brant, as she was called, a singularly gifted and handsome Indian woman, Johnson had several children, some of whom subsequently became distinguished. He was appointed (1748) by the Lords of Trade and Plantation, Superintendent for the English government of Indian affairs in the American colonies, and in 1750 became a member of the New York provincial

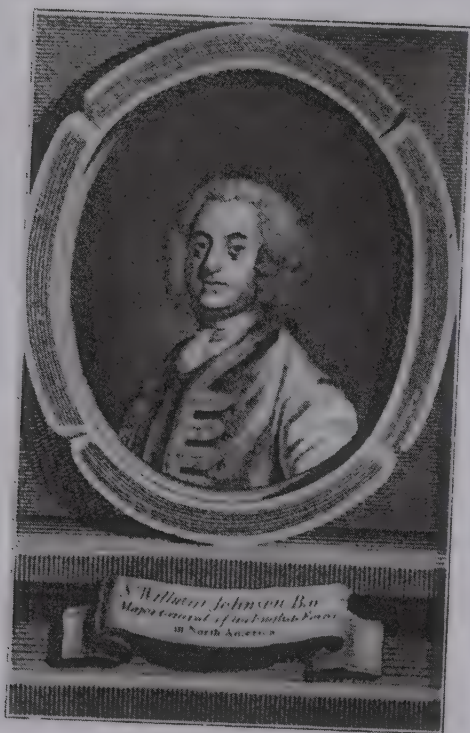
### SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

British soldier and British Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America from 1746 to 1774. Member of the Colonial Council of New York and Major General of the British forces in French and Indian War. The most conspicuous and influential representative of England in her dealings with the American Indians.



of the Mohawk Indians, who were allied at the encroachment of the British soldiers and British General Johnson, who was in America from 1766 to 1774. Member of the Colonial Council of New York and Major General of the British forces in French and Indian War. The most conspicuous and influential representative of English interests in the American Indian trade before the

Revolution. Previous to this time and for many years after, Sir William Johnson was a prominent figure in the Indian and frontier affairs of the Ohio country. He was a soldier and even a military officer, born (1715) Cassin, New York. An unfortunate love romance in his native country drove him in 1738 to America where he became the manager of the landed property of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, in the region of the Mohawk valley. Here Johnson located, engaged extensively in the Indian trade and acquiring the great wealth. He was dealing and generously with Indians and acquiring their language, he acquired the confidence and friendship of them. He conformed to their customs and their life and was adopted as a sachem, into their society. After the death of his German wife, Maria Wittenberg, he took for a sister of the famous Mohawk chief, Brant, to his luxurious home, to live with him as his wife. By Molly Brant, as she was called, a singularly gifted and handsome Indian woman, Johnson had several children of whom only one, only became distinguished. He was appointed agent by the Lords of Trade and was the first Superintendent for the English of the Mohawk valley. An American school teacher and a man of the New York





council. No other man had such power over the Six Nations. He likewise had great influence in British affairs; Stone, his biographer, says of him; "a man, who, from an humble origin, could rise by his own exertions to a position, in which from the backwoods of America he controlled the British Parliament, was of no ordinary mould." We shall hear much of this man from now on.

While Washington was engaged in erecting his rude little fortress at Great Meadows, an event of equal importance was occurring at the provincial capital of New York. A council of the colonies was called at Albany (June-July, 1754) which was attended by seven of the provinces, viz., New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the four New England colonies, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts. The chiefs of the Six Nations were present, "glittering with ornaments and clothed in their richest robes and feathers." It was a memorable and potent occasion. The remarkable Mohawk chief Hendrik presented the grievances of his people, saying: "We cannot find after the strictest inquiry, that any leave to build forts has been given or land sold to the French; they have gone there without our consent; the governors of Virginia and Canada are both quarreling about lands belonging to us; Virginia and Pennsylvania have made roads through our country without acquainting us of it." Governor de Lancey of New York appeased their anger towards the English colonies by telling them that the invaded country was still acknowledged to belong to the Indians under English guardianship and that the inroads of the English were made for the purpose

of protecting them. At this council the Indians proposed the Alleghany mountains as the western boundaries of the colonies but the purchase made from them by Pennsylvania and the subsequent appearance of surveyors upon the Juniata and the Susquehannah, induced the Delawares, Shawnees, Nanticokes and other tribes settled in that vicinity, to withdraw either to Diahoga—site of Athens, on Chemung River—or to the Ohio.

The hatred the Delawares bore the Pennsylvania province, became very intense and they swore never to leave off killing Englishmen so long as there was one of that nation living on their lands. Sir Johnson accompanied Hendrik to the council-fire at Onondaga, where one of the Indian orators expressed the situation in the words, "We don't know what you Christians, English and French, intend; we are so hemmed in by you both that we hardly have a hunting place left; in a little while, if we find a bear in a tree, there will immediately appear an owner of the land to claim the property and hindering us from killing it, by which we live; we are so perplexed between you that we hardly know what to say or think."

It was at this Albany council that Benjamin Franklin presented his notable project of a union of the colonies; a scheme which both the provinces and the mother country rejected. The Albany council while not accomplishing all intended and desired, braced the Six Nations in their allegiance to the English. The spring of 1755 saw the rival fleets of France and England on the high seas bound for America. The French had dispatched eighteen ships of war bearing three thousand



men under Baron Dieskau; accompanying them was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, destined to succeed the ill and failing Duquesne as Canadian governor.

An English army, quite equal in numbers, to the French quota, just noted, sailed for the British colonies, whose people hailed with enthusiasm the approach of their protecting warriors.

General Edward Braddock, the officer chosen to lead the English forces against the French, entrenched at the Ohio Forks, was a roistering, *bon vivant*, a gallant in the drawing rooms of the nobility, a favorite in the green rooms of the theatres, and a popular spendthrift at the fashionable gaming tables. He was, however, noted as an officer for his courage and discipline and he possessed the experience and training of forty-five years in the wars of Europe. He was egotistical and domineering to the Briton limit and boasted it would be an amusing occupation of a few days to dislodge the French from the Ohio Forks, march on and take Fort Niagara, and put an end to their absurd claims. He scoffed at proffered assistance from the colonial militia or its officers, but condescendingly invited Washington to accompany him, more as a companion than otherwise, but with the rank of captain and nominal member of his staff. The final rendezvous was Will's Creek. Here Braddock's forces and those of the province assembled, consisting of the two regular regiments, the 44th, Colonel Sir Peter Halket, and the 48th, Colonel Thomas Dunbar, five hundred soldiers each, augmented respectively to seven hundred by Virginia enlistments. In addition, were some five hundred independent Virginia volunteers, organized

into nine companies, making Braddock's force, including sailors, forty or fifty Indians, the latter under George Croghan, and unclassified camp followers, near two thousand men in all. Croghan, Gist and Weiser, all advised Braddock to secure the coöperation, as far as possible, of the friendly Indian tribes, but the self-confident general spurned the assistance of the American savages. A month after the death of Braddock, Chief Scarouady, the successor of the late Half King and who accompanied the general on his march, said of the British general, "he is now dead, but he was a bad man when he was alive; he looked upon us as dogs, and would never hear anything that was said to him. We often endeavored to advise him and to tell him of the danger he was in with his soldiers; but he never appeared pleased with us; and that was the reason that a great many of our warriors left him and would not be under his command." With the contingent above enumerated, six hundred baggage horses, one hundred and fifty wagons and many pieces of artillery, Braddock's army started (June 7), from Will's Creek "moving like a scotched snake, dragging its slow length along," the route of Washington's road towards Fort Duquesne. The best accounts of that march and its terrible sequel are found in Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition," and Lowdermilk's "History of Cumberland."

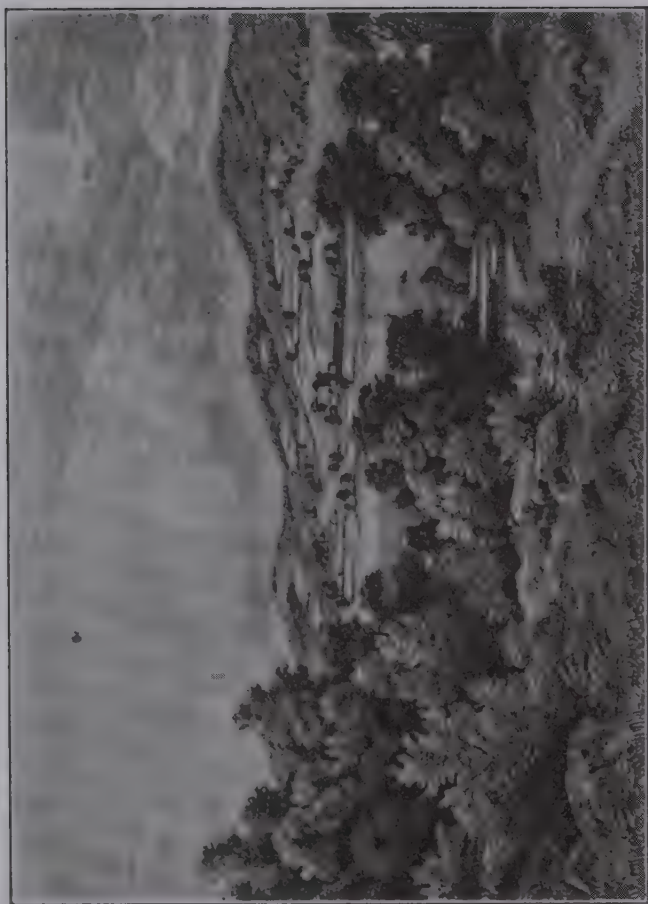
Braddock's soldiers pluckily tugged their way through mountain gaps and along the forest clad hillsides; passed Fort Necessity, thence across the Youghiogheny, proceeded beyond the latter's mouth at the Monongahela, on to where Turtle Creek emptied into the

### BRADDOCK'S BATTLEFIELD

Scene of Braddock's defeat at confluence of Turtle Creek and the Monongahela. The battle was fought July 9, 1775. This picture is from a painting of the site made a few years after the date of the battle. It is now the site of the city of Braddock, really a part of Pittsburg.









Monongahela, about eight miles below the Ohio Forks, the site of Fort Duquesne, the stronghold of the French and the objective point of the English expedition. No need to rehearse at length the dreadful denouément of that fatal day of July 9, 1755. The line of the road at the point of attack, ran through a wide and lengthy opening in the woods, on ascending ground, skirted to the right by some hilly elevations, covered with thickly grown trees, beyond which lay a depression. The road on the opposite side was flanked by a brush choked ravine, admirably adapted for the concealment of troops. The British under orders of their general, accustomed to the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," advanced into this arena in solid platoon. Washington said he never saw a finer appearing body of soldiers; but it was no place for military display and the Virginian aide-de-camp, now an adept in frontier warfare, realized the peril of the arrangement of the troops after the fashion of European tactics, and he made bold to advise Braddock to disperse his soldiers and make ready to employ the Indian mode of fighting in the forests protected by the brush and trees. The haughty general, "a stranger both to fear and common-sense," angrily replied, "What! a provincial colonel teach a British general how to fight!" The insolent refusal of the aged commander to heed the clear-headed counsel of the youthful "provincial" doubtless lost England the battle of the Monongahela. Braddock had stupidly stalked into the well contrived ambushade in the opening just described. Suddenly the surrounding woods resounded with yells and war-whoops, terrific sounds never before heard by his

Majesty's European soldiers, while a deadly fire poured into the regimental columns drawn up "spic and span" as if in holiday dress parade.

The unexpected assailants, who seemed to drop from a clear sky, were the French soldiers and native savages under De Beaujeu, sent from Fort Duquesne by Contrecoeur to intercept the British advance. The attacking party numbered about nine hundred, consisting of seventy-two regular French troops, one hundred and forty-six Canadians and six hundred and thirty-seven Indians, comprising Shawnees and Mingoes from the Muskingum; Ojibways and Pottawatemies from the Northern lakes under Charles Langlade, leader in the foretime attack on the Miamis at Pickawillany; Abenakis and Caughnawagas from Canada, Ottawas from Detroit, led by the renowned Pontiac, and Hurons from the falls of Montreal; the entire Indian force being directed by the Canadian chief Athanase. It was in fact an Indian army, manoeuvring in Indian fashion; De Beaujeu, the French commander, to flatter and more easily control his savage horde, was attired in Indian fighting costume, and might easily have been mistaken for a tribal chief. Lieutenant Matthew Leslie of the British regulars in a letter recounting this battle, wrote; "the yell of the Indians is fresh on my ears, and the terrific sound will haunt me till the hour of my dissolution. I cannot describe the horrors of that scene. No pencil can do it, or no painter delineate it, so as to convey to you with accuracy our unhappy situation."

The combatants of this motley Indian "army" scattered themselves along the ravines behind the trees



### BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

Defeat of Braddock on the banks of the Monongahela at the mouth of Turtle Creek, present site of Braddock (Pa.) on July 9, 1755. This picture shows the attack of the Indians from their ambuscade. The original is a painting in the collection of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.







and brush, completely encircling the open field into which Braddock had so "soldierly" marched. The return fire of the entrapped troops was totally unavailing, they could not see an enemy. Says Captain Robert Orme, aide to Braddock, in his journal of this event, "the enemy had spread themselves in such a manner, that they extended from front to rear, and fired upon every part; no enemy appeared in view," and the diary of another officer states, "numbers of our officers declared they never saw above four of the enemy at a time the whole day." It was a merciless slaughter of the helpless British soldiers who huddled together like frightened animals and then, panic-stricken and powerless, broke in wild route while they were mowed down like grass before the scythe. Of eighty-six English officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded; so also were one-half the private soldiers, the total loss reaching a thousand, out of fourteen hundred who participated in the encounter.

The division of Dunbar, because of his slow movements, known as, "Dunbar the Tardy," was encamped many miles in the rear and did not reach the scene of disaster. The French loss was three officers killed, including their commander, De Beaujeu, and two wounded; twenty-five soldiers, Canadians and Indians were slain; about the same number were wounded. Braddock striving desperately to stem the panic of his soldiers, after having five horses shot under him, fell mortally wounded, while all of his aides were disabled, except Washington, who behaved with the greatest courage and resolution, and who, though just recovering from a severe fever that almost incapac-

tated him for service, rode in every direction to deliver the orders of Braddock, thus being a constant and conspicuous mark for the enemy's sharpshooters. The Indian chief, Gwaysutha, who fought with the French, subsequently told Washington that with deliberate aim, he fired time and again at the Virginia colonel, but could not hit him, for he "bore a charmed life." Washington indeed was the great hero of this event. He was numbered among the killed in the first reports of the battle sent back to Virginia, and on his reaching Fort Cumberland, ten days after the defeat, he wrote his brother John Augustine, "As I have, since my arrival at this place, a circumstantial account of my death and dying speech, I take this early opportunity of contradicting the first and of assuring you, that I have not as yet composed the latter. But, by the all powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every side of me." On the same day he wrote his mother at Fredericksburg a full account of the affair in which, after speaking of the cowardice of the British soldiers as being greater than, "it is possible to conceive," he said: "The officers behaved gallantly in order to encourage their men, for which they suffered greatly, there being over sixty killed and wounded; the Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery and were nearly all killed; for I believe out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men are left alive \* \* \* In short, the dastardly behavior of those they call regulars exposed

all others, that were inclined to do their duty, to almost certain death; and, at last in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran, as sheep pursued by dogs and it was impossible to rally them."

This repulse was a costly, but not forgotten lesson in warfare for the British regulars and the Virginia volunteers, among whom either in the rank or file were Horatio Gates, Thomas Gage, Daniel Morgan, George Mercer, Henry Gladwyn, Adam Stephens, Dr. Craig, and others whose names figure more or less large in subsequent colonial history. The surviving soldiers, able to escape, leaving the dead and many wounded on the field, retreated precipitately over the route they had come. At Great Meadows, which they reached in four days, General Braddock, who in a dying condition had been borne thus far in a tumbril, breathed his last, saying "is it possible—all is over." In his dying moments he made Washington his "nuncupative legatee, bequeathing to him his favorite charger and his body-servant Bishop, so well known in after years as the faithful attendant of the patriot chief." Braddock was a soldier of undaunted bravery, but imprudent, arrogant, headstrong and tyrannical. To the dishonor of his defeat is added the opprobrium of the historic rumor that the shot that cost him his life was not fired by an enemy but by one of the provincial soldiers in his own command. De Hass in his "Indian Wars" repeats the story as it is circulated by many another chronicler. It is to the effect that in the Pennsylvania troops were two brothers, Joseph and Thomas Fausett; the first a commissioned and the latter a non-commissioned officer. Both Fausetts

were versed in Indian warfare and regardless of General Braddock's positive and fatal orders that the soldiers should not protect themselves behind trees, Joseph Fausett so posted himself, upon which Braddock "rode up and struck him down with his sword." Thomas Fausett, but a short distance away, saw the transaction and roused to revengeful passion instantly drew his rifle and shot the general through the body. It was also reported that Braddock wore a steel breast plate which turned the balls coming in front "but that he was shot in the back and the ball was found stopped in front by the coat of mail." Thomas Fausett lived to a venerable age, and according to the testimony of many contemporaries, some of them his fellow soldiers, he often boasted of having shot Braddock as above related. Certainly that statement—repeated by Jared Sparks with apparent sanction while Winthrop Sargent designates it as "gasconading gossip"—had wide credence during the lifetime of Thomas Fausett "and most of the settlers were disposed to applaud the act."

"Last scene of all, that ends this strange eventful history," Braddock was buried, on the Laurel hillside; under the cover of night, beneath the middle of the road, that the trampling feet and rolling wheels of the retreating army that followed might conceal the grave of the rash but fearless general. Washington read the burial service over the unsaluted sepulture:

"But he lay like a warrior, taking his rest,  
With his martial cloak around him."



### CHAPTER XIII.

## THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR



THE phase of the French and Indian War that interests the reader of Ohio history, is the relation the Ohio tribes respectively bore to the contending parties in that conflict.

No writer appears to have satisfactorily revealed the movements of the tribesmen of the Ohio country during the period in question. The standard authors—especially those resident in New England—have passed it over for the most part in grim silence or with slight attention. What we have to say on the subject is obtained mainly from first hand sources; the provincial documents of colonial New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia; the letters of Washington, of Governor Dinwiddie and the papers of contemporary officials.

It must be recalled that the Ohio Indians, when first they came in contact with the French and English invaders, were, for causes already noted, inclined toward the English. Celoron, Gist, Croghan and Montour, in their journeys through Ohio, as previously related, found the Indians leaning sympathetically toward the English traders and colonists. During the years 1751 to 1753 the Indians of Ohio, alarmed at the aggressive movements of the French who threatened to take possession of the Indian country, sent appeals to the English to come to their defense. The Weas and Piankeshaws of the Miamis, as we saw, signed articles of peace and alliance with the English. The Shawnees forwarded a warning message, and the Miamis declared their adherence to the English and hurried a messenger across the mountains to Dinwiddie with the admonition, "we must look upon ourselves as lost if our brothers, the English, do not stand by

us and give us arms." Nor did this solely apply to the Indians of the western and northern Ohio interior. At first the Senecas and Cayugas as well as the Shawnees and Delawares on the upper Ohio river looked with great mistrust upon the descent of the fort-building French, and urged the defensive coöperation of the Six Nations who were naturally inclined toward the English side as at the Lancaster council (1744) the Six Nations had ceded to the English, for a consideration of four hundred pounds, the lands occupied by the tribes west of the Alleghany Mountains, as far as the Ohio; and when the Virginia governor sent Trent to secure the forks of the Ohio, he wrote, "as you have a good interest with the Indians, I doubt not you will prevail with many of them to join you in order to defeat the designs of the French in taking their lands from them by force of arms."

Meanwhile the French were exerting every effort to secure the allegiance of the Ohio Indians. Early in 1754 the French sent messages to the Twightwees, Wyandots and other allied tribes, urging that they "take up the tomahawk," start for the Ohio and there cut off all the English to be found. And in March, La Force, the French officer, met the representatives of the Six Nations at Logstown and said to them: "I have come here to know your minds, whether you intend to side with the English or not, and without asking you I am convinced that you have thrown away your fathers [the French] and taken to your brothers the English. I tell you now, that you have but a short time to see the Sun, for in twenty days, you and your brothers, the English, shall all die."

To this the speaker for the Six Nations made reply: "Fathers, you tell us in twenty days we and our brethren, the English, must all die. I believe you speak true, that is, you intend to kill us, if you can; but I tell you to be strong and bring down your soldiers for we are ready to receive you in battle, but not in peace. We are not afraid of you, and after an engagement you will know who are the best men, you or we."

A month later, the Half King Scruniyatha, then at Fort Duquesne, sent the following to the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania: "Brothers, the English, the bearer is to let you know how we were used by the French. We have been waiting this long time for the French to strike us, now we see what they design to do with us. We are ready to strike them now and wait for your assistance. Be strong and come as soon as possible you can, and you will find us your true brothers, and shall find us as ready to strike them as you are. \* \* \* We would desire if you could that the men from both provinces would meet us at the forks of the road. And now if you do not come to our relief, we are gone entirely, and shall never meet, I believe, which grieves my heart."

About the same time, the Shawnees and the Delawares on the Ohio sent to Onondaga, the Iroquois capital, a speech in which they said: "Brethren of the United Nations, hear us; the French, your father's hatchet, is just over our heads, and we expect to be struck with it every moment; make haste therefore and come to our assistance as soon as possible, for if you stay till we are killed, you won't live much longer afterwards, but if you come soon we will be able to

fight and conquer the French our enemy." The Delawares also sent a message of their own saying: "Uncles, the United Nations, we expect to be killed by the French, your father; we desire therefore that you will take off our petticoats that we may fight for ourselves, our wives and children; in the condition we are in you know we can do nothing."

To the Pennsylvania council, December, 1754, Scarouady, the Oneida chief, who succeeded Tanacharison as half king, declared, "The Delawares, Shawnees, Owendats, and Twightwees are our allies; we expect they are in full friendship with us; you may depend on the truth of what I say, they are our fast friends."

The delay of the English in heeding the appeals of the Ohio Indians allowed the French time to seize upon the vantage points, and forts Le Boeuf, Venango and Duquesne were erected. Moreover in the summer of 1754, while Washington was being driven from his little stockade in the Great Meadows, the French, as before noted, built Fort Junundat on the east or right side of the Sandusky Bay, thus establishing their hold on the lake shore as well as securing the forks, the commanding entrance to the Ohio. The English opposition to the encroachments of the French seemed unavailing and to the Ohio Indians it looked as though "Onontio," the governor of Canada, was outwitting and outwarring "Corachkoo," the king of England. Then came the blow of Braddock's defeat. It has been seen that the Indian allies won that battle for the French. In the Indian mind that defeat confirmed their fear of the weakness of the English and in consequence many tribes who had stood aloof watching

the issue and wavering as to with which party—French or English—they would cast their lot, hesitated no longer. Thus matters stood in the Ohio country.

The New England colonies were not seriously agitated in this contest over the possession of the Ohio country and of the three colonies whose special interest it should have been to shut out the French from the Ohio Valley; New York did little or nothing, while Pennsylvania and Virginia were chiefly engrossed in a quarrel about their western boundary line. Dinwiddie and Washington complained incessantly of the inactivity and delay of Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York in properly preparing for the French encroachments. The brunt of the battle fell upon Virginia and right nobly, under the circumstances, did that colony bear it. Nor was Virginia without the motive of self interest in this contest for by her colonial charter, her lines crossed the Ohio and extended indefinitely west.

The respective plays and counterplays of the French and English to win and hold the alliance of the various tribes would be too devious and tedious to attempt to follow. From the mass of reports of councils and negotiations as found in the colonial documents of Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and Virginia, we simply cull the main results. The attitude of the tribesmen, their perplexity and their shifting positions are best revealed in their own declarations.

At a Philadelphia council held some three months before Braddock's defeat the chief of the Caughnawagas said: "The French and the English are quarreling about our lands and want to engage us in their

quarrel, but why should we meddle on either side; the English you see, buy our lands from us, piece after piece and though they pay us for it and so get it from us with our own consent yet what they give us is soon spent and gone, and we much straightened for want of our lands. The French take the whole country from us by force, never asking us for our consent, and so between both we shall in a little time have no land. The French now treat us like slaves, and though the English do not, yet when all our lands are gone they will despise us."

In the autumn of the same year (1755) Governor Morris of Pennsylvania wrote William Johnson, the English superintendent of Indian affairs; "the unhappy defeat of General Braddock has brought an Indian war upon this and the neighboring provinces and from a quarter where it was least expected, I mean the Delawares and Shawnees, from whom we thought there was no danger, as they had the very last year given us assurance of their taking part with us when we should ask them to do so."

At the same time Governor Morris wrote Scarouady, the Oneida half king, demanding that the chief go to the Six Nations and say to them: "Brethren, your cousins, the Delawares, who live at Ohio whom we have hitherto looked upon as our children, whom we nursed and cherished in our bosoms, whom we have supported and with whom we have lived from our infancy in perfect love and tenderness, have in a most cruel manner fallen upon and murdered our inhabitants, people whose houses were always open to them and who had given them every kind thing



they asked. \* \* \* It was but the very last year they gave us a friendly meeting, and when they parted with us gave us assurances of their continuing our friends whilst the water should run down the river and we never dreamed that their hearts could be poisoned by the enemy or the flame of love so soon extinguished in their breasts."

But all efforts to retain the Delawares seemed unavailing for at the Philadelphia council (November, 1755) two Delaware messengers boldly proclaimed: "We, the Delawares of Ohio, do proclaim war against the English. We have been their friends many years, but now have taken up the hatchet against them and we will never make it up with them whilst there is an English man alive." A month later the secretary of the Pennsylvania council, among other things, reported: "All our accounts agree in this, that the French since the defeat of Braddock have gained over to their interests the Delawares, Shawnees and many other Indian nations formerly in our alliance, and they have been prevailed upon to take up arms against us and to join heartily with the French in obtaining possession of all the country between the River Ohio and the River Susquehanna."

The spring of 1756 opened ominously for the English and most hopefully for the French. At this time, in a budget of "dispatches" from Montreal to the government at Paris, as printed in the documents relating to the colonial history of New York, the informant reports the news from Fort Duquesne to be: "there have been in these parts [Fort Duquesne] twenty detachments of Delawares and Chouanous [Shawnees];

these were joined by more than sixty Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations who have committed frightful ravages. The only resource remaining to the inhabitants was to abandon their homes and remove to the sea coast. Three forts have been burnt, among the rest one containing a garrison of forty-seven men, which was besieged by a party of forty Indians under command of M. Douville, a colonial [French] cadet. The garrison was summoned to surrender, but having refused, the fort was set on fire in the night; the garrison then attempted to escape, and the "Indians gave no quarter." Another "dispatch" in the same budget gives a report of the French-Indian fighting strength: "we now have on the continent 1000 French, 700 Delawares and Chouanous [Shawnees], besides a number of Illinois, as many as 300 French and Indians under the command of Sieur de Villiers, about 250 Miamis and Outaganous, under M. de Belastre, 300 from Detroit and 700 from Michilmackinac," a total force of 3250, of which more than two-thirds were Indians. Another item forwarded to Paris, in the summer of 1756, states: "Captain Dumas, commandant at Fort Duquesne, has continually kept parties [Indians] in the field both in Pennsylvania and Virginia, and has placed officers and cadets at the head of some of them." The informer, however, significantly adds that Captain Dumas has advised M. Vaudreuil, "that some of the Indians of the Beautiful River appeared to be relaxing in their zeal but M. de Vaudreuil had no doubt of their soon resuming their original ardor." Monatatootha, speaking for the Delawares and Shawnees, said: "Last year the French brought a powerful

army into our country and soon after the English marched another army, which appeared to us like two clouds hanging over us; we looked on till the battle was over and then we found some of the Six Nations with the French hatchets in their hands killing the English and as we were in strict alliance with the Six Nations, we thought it our duty to do the same, yet we did not immediately strike."

William Johnson wrote the governor of New York, (1756) that the Six Nations were weakening and in fact distressed, some of the western nations having abandoned their allegiance, and the Shawnees and such of the Delawares as live upon the Ohio, who had been subject to the Iroquois "having been set up and supported in an independency" by the French were still continuing hostilities against the people of some of our colonies contrary to the orders of the Six Nations.

As a result of all this the Pennsylvania council reported:

"It appears to us that the Delawares have sold themselves to the French, and are determined to take this opportunity to throw off their subjection and dependency upon the Six Nations, imagining they shall be supported in it by their new masters, else they would not have had the assurance to treat the Six Nations with insolence, as it is well known they have done, even to threaten some of them to their faces to make women of them, if they would not assist them in the war against the English."

The Indian situation was thus developing in the French country, and in the English colonies bordering on the Ohio, when in May, 1756, England declared

war against France, "and now," says Parkman, "began the most terrible conflict of the eighteenth century; one that convulsed Europe and shook America, India, the coasts of Africa and the islands of the sea." This war involved a line-up of European nations, perhaps not equalled in modern history until the time of Napoleon. On the side of England were Prussia, then under the kingship of Frederick the Great, Hanover and several smaller German states; on the side of France were Russia, Austria, Sweden, Saxony and later Spain. In Europe this tremendous contest in which the French allies marshalled 500,000 troops and the English contestants 250,000, was called the Seven Years' War, and at times facetiously "The Women's War," because three women, Elizabeth of Russia, Maria Theresa of Austria and La Pompadour of France, controlled respectively, the forces of the three great nations named and these three women were united in a common hatred of the great Frederick of Prussia. The causes, events and results of this European warfaric imbroglio of kings, queens, and knaves are not for us to recount. Although the motives of this war were many, the immediate occasion of it was the contest, in the Ohio Valley, over the possession of the Ohio country. The first fire was struck in the skirmish on the Laurel Hill side between Washington and La Force; the torch that set the world in a flame was ignited on the banks of the Ohio in the battle of Monongahela. It was known in America as "the French and Indian War."

The Indians now became thoroughly aroused to the importance of the coming contest in which their destiny was at stake. The Ohio Indians, who had

been shifting toward French affiliation, because of their location in the French territory and because of the apparent greater prospects of the French, and further because they looked for an opportunity to free themselves from the Iroquois domination, now became belligerent in behalf of their chosen side.

Governor Hardy of New York wrote Governor Morris of Pennsylvania: "We have strong reasons to think that the Delawares and Shawnees are our most inveterate enemies, and that they will most likely continue so." This was no news to the provincial governor of Pennsylvania for already he had issued a proclamation of war against the Delawares, who he declared "have been most mischievous and continue to murder and destroy our inhabitants." Their chief center and one of their headquarters for hostile sorties was the Delaware village of Kittanning, called by the French, Attique,—“a populous nest of savages on the Allegheny, between the two French posts of Duquesne and Venango.” Here resided permanently the Indian Chief Jacobs and at times the Delaware Chief Shingas. Here recruits from the Ohio Delawares would be received and hence the marauding and murdering bands would go forth. To break up this rendezvous of the savages, the Pennsylvania authorities sent a force under Colonel John Armstrong, who planned and successfully executed an assault upon the settlement, burning the town and killing or dispersing the inhabitants. This was in the fall of 1756.

Following the Armstrong expedition the French commander at Fort Duquesne assembled there a vast number of Indians, representing the Chippewas, Tawas,

Twightwees, Nottawas, Delawares and Shawnees, with whom he made a friendly treaty. At the same time the provincial council of New York with the aid of William Johnson was striving to hold the Ohio Indians in check, if not in active amity, through the influence of the Six Nations, but the latter were becoming lukewarm and even divided, and Governor Morris was led to say: "the Indians are a most inconstant and unfixed set of mortals and laying aside all treaties, promises and engagements, are always ready to join with the strongest side and no longer there than they have success."

It was evident by this time that the Ohio Indians were to be the active foes of the English. The Delawares on the upper Ohio were the chief aggressors, warmly aided by the Shawnees. Under Tedyuskung,—"the healer"—one of the most crafty chiefs of the Pennsylvania Delawares, the Delawares of Ohio and Pennsylvania and several allied tribes, instigated by the French, made incessant attacks upon the white settlers. Again the Pennsylvania council declared war against the Delawares and also against the Shawnees, and three hundred provincial soldiers, under Benjamin Franklin were sent against them. This was followed (July, 1757) by a conference at Easton, at which peace was made with the Pennsylvania Delawares, accepted largely by the latter because it was agreed that the Delawares should cast off "the ignominy of being considered women by the Iroquois," in which assertion of independence they were to be sustained by the English. But this peace treaty displeased the Ohio Delawares and Shawnees and was not accepted



by them. As Governor Denny expressed it: "The Ohio Indians will say 'we will rather stay where we are; we are on the strongest side now, and will not hazard our lives and families in breaking with the French in favor of the English, who have been beat several times, and are not likely to do anything for themselves.'"

The position of the Ohio Indians at this time was perplexing and not without its pathetic features. It is best portrayed by the speech of Ackowanothio, an old Indian on the Ohio, delivered (1758) in behalf of the Delawares, Shawnees and other Indians living on the waters of that river. We give in full the interpretation by Conrad Weiser as published in the Pennsylvania Archives: "Brethren the English, you wonder at our joining with the French in this present war? Why can't you get sober and once think impartially? Does not the law of nations permit, or rather command us all, to stand upon our guard, in order to preserve our lives, the lives of our wives and children, our property and liberty? Let me tell you that this was our care: have a little patience! I will tell you, Brethren, your nation always showed an eagerness to settle our lands, cunning as they were, they always encouraged a number of poor people to settle upon our lands: we protested against it several times, but without any redress or help. We pitied the poor people: we did not care to make use of force, and indeed some of those people were very good people, and as hospitable as we Indians, and gave us share of what little they had, and gained our affection for the most part; but after all we lost our hunting ground, for where one of those people settled, like pigeons,

a thousand more would settle, so that we at last offered to sell it, and received some considerations for it: and so it went on 'till we at last jump'd over Allegheny Hills, and settled on the waters of Ohio. Here we tho't ourselves happy! We had plenty of game, a rich and large country, and a country that the Most High had created for the poor Indians, and not for the White People. O how happy did we live here! but alas! not long. O! your covetousness for land at the risque of so many poor souls, disturb'd our peace again. Who should have thought, that that Great King Over the Water, whom you always recommended as a tender Father of his People, I say, who should have thought that the Great King should have given away that land to a parcel of covetous gentlemen from Virginia, called the Ohio Company, who came immediately and offered to build forts among us, no doubt, to make themselves master of our lands, and make slaves of us. To which we could not agree, notwithstanding their fair words. Onontio our Father, heard this with his own ears, went home and prepared, in his turn, to take our lands from us, as we, or some of us, suspected. He made a proclamation to us in the following manner: 'Children, the King of England has given your lands on Ohio to a company of wicked men in Virginia, who, I hear, are preparing to come and take possession with a strong hand; be on your guard, don't let them make the least settlement on Ohio, they will in a few years settle the whole; they are as numerous as Muskeeto's and Nitts in the woods; if they get once a fast hold, it will not be in your power to drive them away again;



if you think you can't keep them off, tell me so, and I will keep them off.' Brethren, we never liked the French, but some of the Six Nations, in particular some of the Senecas, came with the French and took possession on the heads of Ohio; we did not like it, and therefore sent several messages to them, to turn about and go the way they came, to prevent mischief, but to no purpose. The French being numerous, and supported by the aforesaid Senecas and other Indians, we were obliged to be still, and by their craftiness and presents, we were brought over to their side of the question; but a great number of us stood neuter.

"Now Brethren, when that great General Braddock landed at Virginia with orders from the King of England, to drive away the French from Ohio, and take possession himself of that fine country for the English; the French did let us known immediately, and told us; Children, now the time is come of which I often told such an army is coming against you, to take your lands from you and make slaves of you. You know the Virginians; they all come with him. If you will stand your ground, I will fight with you for your land, and I don't doubt we will conquer them. The French General's words, by the assistance of priests, had great influence with the Indians on the Ohio, brought the Shawnees over in body to them, they being wrong'd in Carolina, and imprisoned, and had their chief hanged or put to death in a cruel manner. These Shawnees brought over the Delawares to their measures; they, the Delawares, were drove from their lands, it being sold by the Mohocks, &c., to the New

England people, and just then some of those Delawares came to Wyomock, much incensed against the English, and were easily brought over to the French and Shawnees.

"Now Brethren, all this, with many other abuses we suffered from our Brethren the English, yet our heart is much afflicted; there remains sparks of love in it towards our Brethren the English; were we but sure that you will not take our lands on the Ohio, or the west side of Alleghany Hills from us; we can drive away the French when we please, they have even promised to go off when we pleased, provided we would not suffer the English to take possession of the lands, (for as the French says) we can never drive you off, you are such a numerous people; and that makes us afraid of your army, which should not have come so nigh us, we don't know what to think of it. We sent messages of peace, you received them kindly, and you sent to us messages of peace, we received them also kindly, and sent back again more stronger words. Why did not your army stay at Ray's Town, 'till matters had been settled between us? We still suspect you covet our lands on the Ohio, for you come against us; but we never heard as yet what you intended to do (after you have drove away the French), with the forts and lands on Ohio.

"Brethren, one thing more sticks in our stomach, which is, that we cannot thoroughly believe you that you are in earnest to make peace with us, for when we lived among you, as sometimes it would happen that our young men stole a horse, kill'd a hog, or did some other mischief, you resented it very highly, we

were imprisoned &c. Now, we have kill'd and taken so many of your people, will you heartily forgive us and take no revenge on us. Now Brethren, consider all things well, and be assured that we, the Indians, are heartily inclined to make a lasting peace with you." Such was Ackowanothio's remarkable speech.

In their trans-river invasions the savage warriors from Ohio spread consternation and destruction along the paths they trod, committing murder and perpetrating arson and rapine. These wanton raids, many of which are related in Kercheval's "History of the Virginia Valley," have furnished material for innumerable stories of border adventure and warfare. One in particular, the incidents of which were in the Ohio country, should be briefly retold.

On the Great Kanawha and its tributaries were established some of the earliest settlements of the Ohio Basin by white men other than French. On the (then) New River formed, at the base of the most westerly stretch of the Alleghanies, was a community of a dozen cabins called, from its locator, Draper's Meadows. Mary Draper, daughter of the chief settler, was the heroine of the neighborhood. Her experiences, almost unparalleled in frontier romance, are explicitly set forth by her great grandson, John P. Hale, in his little volume on "Trans-Allegheny Pioneers."

Mary Draper, "could stand and jump straight up nearly as high as her head; she could stand on the ground beside her horse and leap into the saddle unaided," and she could perform many other feats equally surprising and unusual. Her husband, a sturdy youth, of the same settlement, was William

Ingles. For five years the young couple thrived in their primitive home to which had come two little sons, Thomas and George. In the summer of 1755, the day previous to the one on which Braddock plunged to his defeat on the Monongahela, a band of Ohio Shawnees from the Scioto, stealthily approached and surrounded the little bunch of cabins that constituted the Draper's Meadows. Every member of the little colony was either killed, wounded or borne away captive. William Ingles, fortunately absent in the fields, escaped, but his wife, Mary, and the two little sons were made prisoners, as was Mrs. John Draper, Mary's sister-in-law, who was seriously wounded in the arm. The baby of Mrs. Draper was brained against the end of one of the cabin logs, by the Indians, who concluded their depredations by firing the cabins and then starting for their Scioto villages, leading the horses they had stolen loaded with plunder. Mary Ingles and her sister-in-law, Bettie Draper, were permitted to ride the captured horses; the latter woman with a shattered arm; the other about to become a mother. On the night of their third day out, says Mr. Hale, "Mrs. Ingles, far from human habitation, in the wide forest, unbounded by walls, with only the bosom of mother earth for a couch and covered by the green trees and the blue canopy of heaven, with a curtain of black darkness around her, gave birth to an infant daughter." Owing to her perfect physical condition, her robust, out-door life and training, she passed through the ordeal, amid such strange surroundings, with almost as little suffering and loss of time as one of the Indian squaws might have done.

Next morning she was able to travel and resumed the journey, carrying the little stranger, a veritable child of the forest, in her arms on horseback. The party of captors and captives followed down the New River, along the Bluestone River, crossed Flat Top Mountain and descended Paint Creek to the Great Kanawha. Reaching the Ohio, the Indian band followed its course to their towns at the mouth of the Scioto, which they reached just one month after leaving the scene of the massacre and capture at Draper's Meadows. At the Scioto town much feasting, dancing and jollifying was indulged in as a celebration of the success of the expedition. All the prisoners were compelled to "run the gauntlet," except Mrs. Ingles, who, on account of her weakened condition, which she bore with rare bravery and cheerfulness, was exempted. Bettie Draper, spite of her broken and painful arm, was required to pass the dreadful ordeal of running as best she could down the line, between the two rows of Indians, who amid laughter and yells, beat her with clubs and sticks, and buffeted her from side to side. Then came the awful moment of apportioning the captives. Mrs. Bettie Draper was taken to an Indian village in the vicinity of (the present) Chillicothe, on the Scioto; Mary Ingles and her babe were retained at the Scioto Shawnee town; Thomas Ingles, aged four, was carried to Detroit; his little brother, George, aged two, was borne away to an unknown locality in the interior. Some French traders, appearing at the Shawnee town where Mary and her baby were held captive, sold the Indians a quantity of check shirting and Mrs. Ingles, an expert

with the needle, was put to work making check shirts, a most popular garment with the Indian men; "when a shirt would be finished and delivered to its owner, he would stick it on the end of a pole and run through the town yelling 'heap good white squaw.'"

Mary Ingles is often claimed as the "first white woman in Ohio," but that is clearly erroneous. We have already given the story of Mary Harris of "White Woman's Town," and it is more than likely that many white women preceded her to Ohio, either as captives or possibly as voluntary migrants. But the story of Mary Ingles outstrips that of all others recorded for romantic incidents and almost incredible experiences. She was not only the popular seamstress of the Shawnees of the Scioto; through her deftness and apparent eagerness to work for her captors she became valuable as a salt-maker, one who was skillful in boiling the water of the salt spring and extracting the salt. On one occasion, with her babe, she was conducted by an Indian salt-procuring party to the big Bone Lick in Boone County, Kentucky, one hundred and fifty miles below the Scioto and three miles inland from the Ohio. With this party was another captive, an old Dutch woman, to whom Mary Ingles divulged her secret hope of escape and return to her Virginia home. They planned to go together. After many misgivings and heart-rendings Mary determined to leave her babe with her Indian captors. There was no other alternative. To take the little one was certain death for both. Left with the squaws it would probably be cared for. Should the mother escape the little one might later be rescued. The two fugitive women



slipped away; and each carrying only a blanket and a tomahawk, they followed stealthily, amid the trees and brush, up the southern bank of the Ohio. There were no roads, no guides, they knew neither routes, distance or points of compass. They must keep the Ohio in sight till they reached the Great Kanawha. Hundreds of miles of wilderness lay between them and their destination, and this interval was inhabited only by savage Indians and wild beasts. Never was such a journey undertaken and traveled. They slowly crept through the forests, waded the creeks or picked their way across on rocks and fallen trees. At times they had to make long detours, to cross streams or evade Indian paths in which they might be discovered. Without means of securing game, they subsisted on walnuts, hickory-nuts, wild grapes, paw-paws, and berries; often their meals were solely made of bark, leaves and shrubs. Their clothes were worn to shreds and their faces became thin and wan with hunger. But on they toiled by day, sleeping, one hardly imagines how, at night. After passing the point opposite the mouth of the Scioto, the scene of their captivity, they found an old Indian pony, strayed from his owner. This wandering "critter" was a valuable find. They could now take turns riding, and still make progress while resting their weary bodies. After many days, they reached the Big Sandy River, now the dividing line between West Virginia and Kentucky. This they attempted to cross by leading the "critter" over the driftwood that clogged the stream. But the pony's feet slipped between the logs, leaving him astride some tree trunks, from which predicament the helpless

women could not extricate him. He was left to his fate, while feeble, footsore and well nigh famished the fugitives pushed on afoot. They reached the Great Kanawha and turned inland from the Ohio. Their steps were directed homeward but many a long mile was yet to be traversed and the home-stretch was to be the supreme test of their courage and endurance.

Lack of food and exposure "turned the head" of the old Dutch woman and in a fit of mental aberration, she viciously attacked Mary Ingles and but for the great tact and sprightliness of the latter, the assault might have ended in a tragedy. The mental balance of the Dutch woman returned and together the journey was resumed. But the weather was growing cold; they had long since worn out their moccasins; their clothes were in tatters and rags. At night they lay down under shelving rocks or in hollow logs, or on leaves and moss. But "they walked, climbed, crept and crawled through brush and thorn, vines and briars, over and around huge rocks, clambered under or over fallen timber and over slippery banks"; scaled hills and followed rushing torrents and tortuous ways:

"What will not woman, gentle woman, dare,  
When strong affection stirs her spirit up?"

Again the old Dutch woman lapsed into a crazed fever and threatened to kill Mrs. Ingles with cannibalistic intent. The latter, humoring the insanity of her companion, proposed "to draw cuts" to decide who should be sacrificed to become the food of the other. The lot fell to Mrs. Ingles; she tried to escape by promising the Dutch woman large rewards when they would have reached their journey's end. But



with the crazed and famished Dutch woman, the pangs of present hunger were more potent than the hope of future gain and she undertook then and there to kill her victim. She violently seized Mrs. Ingles and the contest became a struggle for life or death. But Mary Ingles, younger and more active, succeeded in eluding the grasp of her murderous adversary. She fled, though almost dead from exhaustion, leaving the older woman to her fate. She pursued her journey until finally she reached a settler's cabin, the sight of whose inmates so overwhelmed her with emotions of joy and relief that she fainted and fell insensible upon the ground. She was tenderly raised and conveyed to the cabin and there slowly nursed and fed until strength returned and she could be carried on horseback to her home or rather the desolate site of her former habitation. She had not seen a fire or tasted food, save nuts, berries and roots, or known shelter for forty days. Yet *mirabile dictu*, she had in that time traveled more than seven hundred miles, through a howling wilderness. We can not give all the details of the dangers and hardships and perilous incidents through which this woman passed. Six years later Mrs. Bettie Draper, who had lived all that time among the Shawnees, mostly in the villages on the Scioto, was ransomed by her husband. As to the children of Mary Ingles; the little baby born during her mother's flight and left at the Big Bone Lick, was never more heard from. Little George perished in captivity about the time of Mrs. Draper's ransom. Thomas, after a captivity of over twelve years, was discovered in a Shawnee village on the Scioto, by a

trading friend of his parents and finally ransomed at a cost of some two hundred and fifty dollars. He knew no parents but the Indian captors who had adopted him. He knew no language but the Indian tongue. He was loth to leave his wigwam home and indeed attempted to escape from his ransomer and flee back to his savage friends and playmates. After his restoration to his parents and reconciliation to his new life, he had a most remarkable career, becoming personally known to or associated with many distinguished contemporaries, among whom were Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Patrick Henry, William Wirt and others equally prominent. Such, all too briefly told, is the story of Mary Ingles, who died at Ingles' Ferry in 1815, in her eighty-fourth year, retaining to the last, her marvelous physical vigor and strength of mind. Only two years before her death, she attended a religious meeting, thirty miles from home, to which she went and from which she returned, on horseback. "Her step was then still elastic, her figure erect, and her complexion florid and healthy, though her hair was white as snow."

CHAPTER XIV.

CAPTURE OF FORT DUQUESNE



THE Shawnees now "took up the hatchet" and went upon the warpath with great vigor and fierceness. They were bold and cruel warriors and from their settlements on the banks of the Scioto and Miami rivers, they would cross the Ohio, ascend the valleys of the Great Kanawha and the Big Sandy, penetrate the mountain regions of western Virginia, advancing even a distance of five hundred miles to the dividing summits from whose elevations they would descend upon the English settlements situated on the tributaries of the Atlantic rivers. For it must be borne in mind that at this time, the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the English western settlements had but sparsely reached the sources of the Potomac, the Shenandoah, James or Roanoke rivers, and these regions were exposed during the continuation of the war to the frequent invasions of the hostile Indians northwest of the Ohio River. In these expeditions, many of which are related in detail in Kercheval's history of the Virginia Valley, the savage warriors from Ohio spread consternation, through their acts of rapine and murder, along the paths they followed.

In the fall of 1757, a band of the Shawnees from their Scioto towns proceeded to the headwaters of the Roanoke and exterminated an entire white settlement. To punish the perpetrators of this assault and prevent further raids of a similar nature, Governor Dinwiddie placed Colonel Andrew Lewis, of Botetourt County, at the head of a body of Virginia troops, with instructions to proceed to the Ohio River, cross over to the Scioto towns, chastise the Shawnees and

on his return build a fort on the Virginia side, at the mouth of the Big Sandy. Colonel Lewis, a brave and energetic soldier, who served under Braddock and was one of the few officers that escaped from the Monongahela carnage, promptly proceeded from Salem, across New River, to the Big Sandy, down the course of which he followed to its mouth at the Ohio. But the time was ill-chosen, and the conditions unpropitious. It was late in the fall (1757), sufficient provisions had not been provided; hunger and want fell upon the soldiers, which the wild game of the woods could not entirely dispel; the little army exhausted and discouraged was compelled to trudge slowly back amid the snow and cold of winter. Nothing had been accomplished and the fruitless and hazardous march and counter-march through the mountains was afterwards known as the "Sandy Creek Voyage."

While the Ohio Shawnees, undaunted and revengeful, abetted, aided, and often accompanied by French-Canadian officers, were continuing their irruptive raids from southern Ohio into Virginia, the Delawares, from eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania, were conducting similar inroads upon the Pennsylvania frontier.

One of the most interesting and faithful records of the Indian situation in the Ohio country, during the period of the French and Indian War is obtained from a very complete account of the captivity of Captain James Smith, written by himself. This frontier hero and author, well versed in woodcraft and inured to all the hardships of Indian warfare, was a native of Pennsylvania. At the age of eighteen, while engaged as one of the tree-fellers in opening the wagon road for

Braddock's expedition, he was waylaid by Delaware and Canasatauga—as Smith in his journal spells Conestoga—Indians and carried prisoner to Fort Duquesne, at which point he witnessed the sortie of the French and Indians to entrap Braddock, and where he also saw their return with the bloody spoils of the victory and massacre. His captivity continued for five years, during which he passed through what he styled, as the title of his account, "Remarkable Occurrences," all of which he subsequently related in an autobiographical work published in 1799.

After Braddock's defeat, the Indian captors conveyed Smith to their towns in the Ohio country; first to one called Tillihas, on the west branch of the Muskingum. This village was inhabited by the Delawares, Caughnawagas and Mohicans. Here amid grotesque and painful ceremonies he was adopted into the Caughnawaga tribe, a remnant of "an ancient tribe of the Mohawks in the interest of the French." And now during the entire period of the French and Indian War, with his fellow tribesmen, he was wandering about through the wilderness and Indian settlements of Ohio, and his life and experiences afford graphic descriptions, not only of the character and habits of the red men, but also offer glimpses of the movements of the tribes relative to the war then being waged east and south of the Ohio River. One of Smith's portrayals is that of a war dance, in a Muskingum River town, by Captain "Pluggy" a Mohawk chief, and his band, "who were to start next day to war, to the frontier of Virginia." After picturing the dance, Smith adds, "The next morning the company all collected at one

place, with their heads and faces painted with various colors, and packs upon their backs; they marched off all silent, except the commander, who, in the front sang the "traveling song." Just as the last warriors in the departing line passed the end of the town, they began to fire their guns in their slow manner, from the front to the rear, which discharge was accompanied with shouts and yells from all quarters. Later, Smith notes the return of Pluggy and his warriors, and reports, "They brought with them a considerable number of scalps and prisoners from the south branch of the Potomac."

Smith, with his band of Indian brothers, was continually on the move; now on the Ohio, then the Muskingum, and in turn on the Cuyahoga, the Sandusky, the Scioto, on the shores of Erie, the banks of the Big Beaver, Maumee and Olentangy; and he visited the towns or temporary camps of the Ottawas, Wyandots, Caughnawagas, Ojibways, Mohawks, Delawares, Pottawattomies and others, for at this time straggling parties of many tribes, both east and west of Ohio were drifting about, driven from place to place, by the disturbing elements of the war. Smith does not distinctly mention the Miamis and the Shawnees, though he must have seen more or less of those prominent Ohio nations. While in the winter camp on Lake Erie, betwixt Canesadooharie Creek, later Black River, and the Cuyahoga, he writes, "The hunters held a council and concluded that they must have horses to carry their loads, and they would go to war even in this inclement season, in order to bring in horses. Then they began to go through their common



ceremony. They sung their war songs and danced their war dances. And when they were equipped they went off singing their marching songs and firing their guns. Our camp appeared to be rejoicing; but I was grieved to think that some innocent persons would be murdered not thinking of danger. \* \* Sometime in February, the warriors returned, who had taken two scalps and six horses from the frontiers of Pennsylvania." This was in 1756. Again he says, "We arrived safe at Sunyendeand, which was a Wyandot town, that lay upon a small creek which empties into the Little Lake below the mouth of Sandusky." Here he found French traders, "Who purchased our skins and furs, and we all got new clothes, paint, tobacco, etc." In June, (1756) the Indians of this neighborhood, "were all engaged in preparing to go to war against the frontiers of Virginia; when they were equipped, they went through their ceremonies, sung their war songs, etc. They all marched off, from fifteen to sixty years of age; and some boys only twelve years old, were equipped with their bows and arrows and went to war; so that none were left in the town but squaws and children, except myself, one very old man, and another about sixty years of age, who was lame. The Indians were then in great hope that they would drive all the Virginians over the lake, which is all the name they know for the sea. They had some cause for this hope, because at this time, the Americans were altogether unacquainted with war of any kind, and consequently very unfit to stand their hand with subtle enemies as the Indians were. The two old Indians asked me if I did not think that the Indians and

French would subdue all America, except New England, which they said they had tried in old times. I told them I thought not; they said they had already drove them all out of the mountains, and had chiefly laid waste the great valley betwixt the North and South mountain, from Potomack to James River, which is a considerable part of the best land in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and that the white people appeared to them like fools; they could neither guard against surprise, run or fight." Later, a part of these warriors came in, from different places in Augusta County (Virginia), where they had "struck," bringing in with them "a considerable number of scalps, prisoners, horses and other plunder."

On the first of June (1757), the warriors were preparing to go to war, in the "Wiandot, Pottowatomy, and Ottawa towns"; also "a great many Jibeways (Ojibways) come down from the upper lakes; and after singing their war songs and going through their common ceremonies, they marched off against the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, in their usual manner, singing the traveling song, slow firing, &c. \* \* \* About the middle of June the Indians were almost all gone to war, from sixteen to sixty; yet Tecaughretanego remained in town with me. Though he had formerly, when they were at war with the southern nations, been a great warrior, and an eminent counsellor; and I think as clear and as able a reasoner upon any subject that he had an opportunity of being acquainted with, as I ever knew; yet he had all along been against this war, and had strenuously opposed it in council. He said if the

English and French had a quarrel let them fight their own battles themselves; it is not our business to intermeddle therewith. Some time in August the warriors returned, and brought in with them a great many scalps, prisoners, horses and plunder; and the common report among the young warriors, was, that they would entirely subdue Tulhasaga, that is the English or it might be literally rendered the Morning Light inhabitants," that is, the invaders from the East.

These citations from Captain Smith's account are quoted as truthfully reflecting the attitude and the actions of the Ohio Indians during this war period, by one who may be regarded as a faithful reporter at the front.

In July (1757) De Vaudreuil wrote the royal authorities at Versailles, "The English are making every effort to conclude peace with the nations on the Beautiful River and its environs, to whom they had sent messages everywhere to induce them to remain quiet." About this same time, Washington, who a few weeks after Braddock's defeat was appointed commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, wrote from Fort Loudoun to a relative in London: "experience has convinced every thinking man in this colony, that we must bid adieu to peace and safety whilst the French are allowed to possess the Ohio and to practice their arts among the numerous tribes of Indian nations that inhabit those regions, and that it must be attended with an expense infinitely greater to defend our possessions, as they ought to be defended against the Skulking enemy, than to remove the cause of our groundless fears, by the reduction of Fort Duquesne."

Meanwhile the Long House became divided. Hitherto a compact enemy of the French, its members now fell apart. The Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas, doubting the final success of the English, threw off (1757) the disguise of friendship they had professed for the latter and sent messages to the French declaring for peace with them and agreeing to remain neutral between the contending powers. The Tuscarawas and Oneidas seemed to occupy a wavering position but were found mainly on the English side; the Mohawks alone remained firm in their attachment to the British interests. They of all the Six Nations retained the most implacable hatred of the French. Associated with the nations of the Long House, were the tribes known as the Nanticokes and the Conoys, living mainly on the rivers of their respective names. These two tribes were conquered subjects of the Iroquois and in obedience to the divided allegiance of their masters, they too were vacillating in their fealty to the English influence, the Conoys preferring however to follow the lead of the Mohawks. Such in substance was the situation in the Indian country of, and contiguous to, the trans-Alleghanies at the close of the year 1757. The French held the key to the Ohio country, with the allegiance of the Ohio tribes and the partial neutrality of the Six Nations. The English colonies were discouraged and divided in their efforts. The mother country was engrossed in her European troubles. As Parkman puts it, "the war kindled in the American forest was now raging in full conflagration among the kingdoms of Europe; and in the midst stood Frederick of Prussia, a veritable fire-king." But the gaze of

battle from the date of the declaration of war, May, 1756, to the spring of 1758, two years had been against the English-Prussian alliance in Europe while delay and defeat were the portion of the English in America.

But now a change came over the spirit of the English dream. The king reorganized the cabinet and William Pitt, the brilliant orator and one of England's greatest statesmen, the earl of Chatham, called the Great Commoner and the idol of the people, became secretary of State, "with the lead of the House of Commons and full control of the war and foreign affairs." The warrior Frederick upon hearing of Pitt's appointment remarked, "England has been long in labor, and at last she has brought forth a man." The gloomy clouds that had hung over England at once began to roll by. We leave the "Seven Years' War" in Europe and other foreign parts to work out its destiny while we follow the fortunes of the "French and Indian War" in America, towards which Pitt turned his heartiest efforts, and his ascendancy at once inspired new hope in the American colonists. He promised to send them British troops and to supply their colonial militia with arms, ammunition, tents and provisions at the expense of the mother country. He sent twelve thousand soldiers from England, which were joined to a colonial force aggregating fifty thousand men, the most formidable army yet seen in the new world. Moreover in the colonies some official changes wrought for better things. The Earl of Loudoun, whom Franklin characterized as a man "entirely made up of indecision, like St. George on the signs, he was always on horseback, but never rode on," who had been chief in command

of the British forces in the colonies, and was conspicuous for his manifold failures, was withdrawn to give place to Abercrombie. Robert Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, also yielded his office and sailed for England and says Sparks, "his departure was not regretted" in the colony, for "he failed to win the hearts or command the respect of the people." Dinwiddie was succeeded in the gubernatorial office by Francis Fauquier. The new minister, Pitt, mapped out the warfare in America against France into three simultaneous campaigns; the first to be against Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, the expedition to be under Major-general Jeffrey Amherst; the second against Ticonderoga, "that thorn in the side of the northern colonies," to be under the command of Major-general James Abercrombie; the third against Fort Duquesne, "the key of the Great West," the expedition to be led by Brigadier-General John Forbes. General Forbes, whom Pitt had chosen to lead the expedition against the fortress, that Braddock had failed to capture three years before, was a Scotchman admirably fitted, by experience and temperament, for the task assigned him. His army was to consist of a battalion of Royal Americans, colonial enlistments in the regular British army and commanded by officers brought from Europe for that purpose; about twelve hundred Scotch Highlanders; and provincials from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina.

While the British regulars and colonial militia were being mobilized for the expedition of Forbes, the Pennsylvania provincial council determined to make one more earnest effort to secure the neutrality



if not the active aid of the Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes located upon and west of the Ohio River, that those tribes might not thwart or jeopardize the success of the proposed advance on Fort Duquesne. With this object in view, the then governor of Pennsylvania, William Denny, chose Christian Frederick Post as the messenger to the Ohio Indians. Post is a remarkable character in the Indian history of Ohio, of whom much will be related later on, suffice it to say now, he was a missionary of the Moravian church, residing, at this time, at Bethlehem, Pa., then the chief settlement of the Moravian colony. For many years Post had labored among the Pennsylvania Indians and had made frequent visits to the Iroquois tribes. When summoned on the mission in question he had just returned from a message-bearing visit at Wyoming to Tedyuskung, the Delaware King and Chief who had promised at the Easton treaty meeting the Autumn before, to "halloo" to all the far-Indian tribes, including those across the Ohio, and bring them to an understanding with the English. On his important errand to the Ohio Indians, Post set out from Philadelphia the middle of July (1758). His route lay through the wilderness of northern Pennsylvania to the Ohio River. It was a journey beset with perils on every side and Thwaites in his notes to "Early Western Travels" truly says "Antiquarians and historians have alike admired the sublime courage of the man (Post), and the heroic patriotism which made him capable of advancing into the heart of a hostile country, into the very hands of a cruel and treacherous foe." Post kept a complete daily notation of this

journey, which was partially printed in the Pennsylvania Records and was produced (1798) in full in Proud's History of Pennsylvania. The intrepid messenger was accompanied by the Indian Chief Pisquetum and stops were made at many Indian towns. We cannot closely follow Post's interesting itinerary. At King Beaver's town, a delay of many days was made during which Post was lodged in the king's house and held council with representatives of the tribes, including the chiefs Delaware George and Shingas, "who spoke in a very soft and easy manner."

Proceeding by Logstown, Post and his companion arrived near the Forks, opposite Fort Duquesne, on the west side of the Allegheny River. There lengthy and frequent conferences were held with the Delawares, Shawnees, Mingo,es, Tawas, and other tribes. Many distinguished chiefs were present, among them the famous Captain White Eyes and Killbuck, "a great captain and conjurer," from the Delawares on the Muskingum. Both of these chiefs were friendly to the English and stood for peace; "but an old deaf Onondaga Indian rose up and signified his displeasure," declaring the Iroquois still claimed the land west of the Ohio. The Indians friendly to the French plotted against the life of Post and he only escaped through his bravery and diplomacy. He reports, "there are a great number of Irish traders now among the Indians, who endeavor to spirit up the Indians against the English." Surely the dauntless Moravian was in no enviable situation but his tact and courage brought about the result that some fifteen chiefs, including Beaver, Killbuck, White Eyes and Delaware George



signed a document that the nations they represented wished peace with the English and would use their influence to get other tribes to unite with them in the same purpose. In concluding his report, Post says: "There is not a prouder, or more high minded people, in themselves, than the Indians. They think themselves the wisest and prudentest men in the world; and that they can over-power both the French and English when they please. They are a very distrustful people. Through their imagination and reason they think themselves a thousand times stronger than all other people. Fort Duquesne is said to be undermined. The French have given out, that, if we over-power them, and they should die, we should certainly all die with them. When I come to the fort, the garrison, it was said, consisted of about one thousand four hundred men; and I am told they will now be full three thousand French and Indians. They are almost all Canadians, and will certainly meet the general [Forbes] before he gets to the fort, in an ambush. You may depend upon it the French will make no open field battle, as in the old country, but lie in ambush. The Canadians are all hunters. The Indians have agreed to draw back; but how far we may give credit to their promises the Lord knows. It is the best way to be on our guard against them, as they really could with one thousand overpower eight thousand." Post returned late in September to report the proceedings of his delicate and dangerous mission. Avery says: "partly as a result of the missionary's, a great peace convention was met at Easton in October. Delegates from several of the provinces and from the

Iroquois, the Mohegans, the eastern Delawares and other kindred tribes were present. The conference was continued for two weeks with the inevitable formalities, weary repetitions and long winded speeches. At last all differences were settled and wampum belts were given to the Indians to heal their wounds and to make firm a new pact of peace. All present agreed to send a joint message to the Ohio tribes, Post, with several white and Indian companions, was sent to deliver the belt and the message." This was a second journey to the Ohio country, where the "peace overtures were accepted and Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes laid down the hatchet."

During the months that Post was conducting his peaceful mission and negotiations with the Ohio Indians, the French were rallying the western lake tribes to their assistance. Smith in his "Remarkable Occurrences" writes from Detroit, where he had arrived, and "remained this summer" (1758), "Some time in May we heard that General Forbes, with seven thousand men was preparing to carry on a campaign against Fort Duquesne, which then stood near where Fort Pitt was afterwards erected. Upon receiving this news a number of runners were sent off by the French commander at Detroit, to urge the different tribes of Indian warriors to repair to Fort Duquesne. Some time in July, 1758, the Ottawas, Jibewas, Poto-watomies and Wyandots rendezvoused at Detroit, and marched off to Fort Duquesne, to prepare for the encounter of General Forbes. The common report was, that they would serve him as they did General Brad-dock, and obtain much plunder. From this time until

fall, we had frequent accounts of Forbes' army, by Indian runners that were sent out to watch their motion."

Meanwhile Forbes was perfecting the preparations for the Duquesne expedition. Forbes' entire force, including wagoners and camp followers amounted to between six and seven thousand men, two-thirds of whom were furnished by the colonies. Avery, who, in his history of the United States, relates the story of this expedition with entertaining faithfulness, says, "Some of the troops came with damaged firelocks, bound with string, others with no weapons but walking sticks, while many of them had never fired a gun." Forbes declared that their officers, except a few in the higher ranks, were "an extreme bad collection of broken innkeepers, horse jockeys, and Indian traders." But Avery adds, "with a chance for honors as well as hardships, American soldiers and sailors responded to Pitt's appeal with unwonted alacrity." And so they did. The patriotic spirit of the colonial troops was expressed in a song composed by an officer in a Maryland company and which was published in the *Maryland Gazette*, at the outbreak of the war:

"Over the hills with heart we go,  
To fight the proud, insulting foe;  
Our Country calls and we'll obey  
Over the hills and far away.

Over the mountains' dreary waste,  
To meet the enemy we haste,  
Our King commands, and we'll obey,  
Over the hills and far away.

Whoe'er is bold, whoe'er is free  
Will join and come with me,  
To drive the French without delay,  
Over the hills and far away.

Over the rocks and o'er the steep,  
Over the waters wide and deep,  
We'll drive the French without delay,  
Over the lakes and far away."

Another stanza we reserve for later quotation.

At this date the *Maryland Gazette* pointed out the absurdity of the hope of victory by the French because at that date "the population of the English in the American Colonies, exclusive of British troops, was 1,050,000 while the French inhabitants in America numbered but 52,000, of whom 45,000 were in Canada and 7,000 in Louisiana. So that the English are more than in proportion of twenty to one." But the *Gazette* was misinformed as to the French ratio, for unquestioned estimates at the date mentioned show the "general census of Canada above to have been no less than eighty-two thousand."

Early in July (1758) Bouquet was encamped with Forbes' advance guard at the settlement of Raystown, now Bedford, Pennsylvania. Henry Bouquet is one of the early heroes of Ohio history. He was a native of Switzerland, who entered the army of the Low Countries in 1736, and served alternately with the Dutch and the Sardinians and in 1756 entered the British service in America as Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal American Regiment, organized for the Duquesne expedition. He was appointed second in command in Forbes' army. As Parkman puts it, the tents of Bouquet's camp, at Raystown, were pitched in an opening of the forest by the banks of a small stream among the eastern heights of the Alleghanies, and "the Virginians in hunting shirts, Highlanders in kilt and plaid and Royal Americans in regulation

scarlet, labored at throwing up intrenchments and palisades, while around stood the silent mountains in their mantles of green." The Virginian troops raised for the expedition numbered some nineteen hundred men being divided into two regiments, the first under Colonel George Washington, and the second under Colonel William Byrd, member of a distinguished Virginia family. Washington's regiment was assembled at Fort Cumberland, some thirty miles from Raystown, and in lieu of regimental clothing, which had not been supplied, Washington attired his soldiers in Indian dress, leggings and hunting shirts. "In this country," he said, "we must learn the art of war from enemy Indians, or anybody else who has seen it carried on here." Irving says, "seven hundred Indian warriors, also came lagging into Washington's camp, lured by the prospect of a successful campaign." This must be an over-statement. No such number of Indians joined Washington, though among his camp followers, as his correspondence shows, were many small bands of friendly Cherokees, Catawbias and Chickasaws, of whom he made good use and said, "I think them indispensable in our present circumstances."

At the outset a disagreement, to which Sparks devotes considerable space, arose between Forbes and Washington over the route to be followed in the march on Fort Duquesne. Washington advocated the Virginia road from Fort Cumberland, laid out by the Ohio Company in 1753 and followed in the expeditions of Washington and Braddock, and which, Washington wrote, "only wants such small repairs, as would with ease be made as fast as the army could march." General

Forbes, however, insisted on a new road to be carved through the Pennsylvania country direct from Raystown to the Forks, a saving of thirty miles in distance, but necessitating an entirely new construction and great expenditure of time, labor and money. Washington wrote Bouquet if the new route were followed, "we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather *laurels* except of the kind that covers the mountains." This is one of the rare instances recorded, in which Washington indulged in humor. The Pennsylvania route was selected. The story of this expedition is a favorite theme for all historians, and we need not repeat the details. The British commander Forbes, who treated Washington with great consideration, was too ill to accompany the troops. The tedious march from Raystown began. At Loyalhannan, later known as Ligonier, midway to their destination, a fort was erected. Major James Grant was permitted to proceed in advance to reconnoitre the Forks. With eight hundred men, Highlanders, Royal Americans and Provincials, on September 15, 1758 the brave but rash major reached the top of rising ground, thenceforth called Grant's Hill, less than a mile from the French Fort, and "The forest and darkness of night hid them completely from the enemy!" At early morning, veiled in a fog, the advance columns pushed blindly ahead. Grant seemed emulous of the reputation of the foolhardy Braddock for he "ordered the reveille to be beaten in the morning in several places," and as if regarding himself invulnerable, "marshaled his regulars in battle array and sent an engineer, with a covering party, to take a plan of the works, in full view of the



garrison." Suddenly there resounded a "burst of war-whoops, and the French came swarming like hornets, many of them in their shirts, having just leaped from their beds," and continues Parkman, "at length the force of numbers, the novelty of the situation, and the appalling yells of Canadians and Indians, completely overcame the Highlanders, so intrepid in the ordinary situation of war." They broke away in a wild and disorderly retreat. It was Braddock's surprise and stampede over again. "Fear," says Grant, "got the better of every other passion; and I trust I shall never again see such a panic among troops." Grant was surrounded and captured.

Thus ended this mismanaged affair which cost the English over three hundred men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. Among the latter was Major Andrew Lewis, who was later to perform valiant deeds in the Ohio and Revolutionary wars. The survivors ran back to Loyalhannan, around which hovered for many weeks a horde of Canadians and allied Indians. The late fall weather, with its rain, wind and mud, added to the discomfiture of the Colonial forces, and the expedition seemed well nigh wrecked. Washington, whose anticipations had thus far been realized, was now recognized as the cool and wise leader to bring victory out of defeat. He, of all others, had long familiarity with woods and Indians. His command, including a regiment under Colonel John Armstrong, was placed in front, and with his faithful Virginians to support him, he attended personally to the cutting of the road, and the preparing of the way for the main army. Late in November he had advanced until his detachment

encamped among the hills of Turkey Creek; when at midnight the "men on guard heard a dull and heavy sound booming over the western woods." In the morning the march was resumed, "slowly through the forests, over damp, fallen leaves, crisp with frost, beneath an endless entanglement of bare gray twigs that sighed and moaned in the bleak November wind." The Fort was reached, or rather the place where it had been. The commander De Ligneris and the French garrison of about five hundred, suddenly deserted by their Indian allies, had fled, having previously burned the barracks and storehouses and blown up the fortifications. Fort Duquesne was no more. Charred and blackened heaps marked its site. Washington with the advance guard marched in and planted the British flag on the yet smoking ruins. The astonished and rejoicing victors of a bloodless conquest proceeded to erect a stockade, "around a cluster of traders' cabins and soldiers' huts," and General Forbes, who had recently joined his troops, carried in a litter, for he was in the last stages of a fatal illness, named the new palisaded defense Fort Pitt, in honor of the great Prime Minister, whose energy and foresight had brought about the result. The French had abandoned their stronghold at the gateway of the Ohio country. The last verse of the Maryland officer's song had indeed become an historic truth, for it ran:

"On fair Ohio's banks we stand,  
Musket and bayonet in hand;  
The French are beat, they dare not stay,  
But trust to their heels and run away."

General Forbes wrote to Governor Denny from Fort Duquesne November 26, 1758. "I have the



pleasure and honor of acquainting you with the signal success of his majesty's troops over all his enemy's on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th inst., and of which I took possession with my little army the next day—The enemy having made their escape down the river, part in boats and part in land, to their forts and settlements on the Mississippi, being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part and who now seem willing and ready to embrace His Majesty's most gracious protection. \* \* \* As the conquest of this country is of the greatest consequences to the adjacent provinces, by securing the Indians, our real friends for their own advantage, I have therefore sent for their head people to come to me, when I think in a few words and few days to make everything easy; I shall then set out to kiss your hands if I have strength left to carry me through the journey. Dispatches from Montreal to M. Berryer to effect that Shawnees, Iroquois, Delaware and so on flock to the English. Indians of Upper Country are beginning to shake and to negotiate with the English."

The reduction of Fort Duquesne "terminated as Washington had foreseen" says Irving, "the troubles and dangers of the southern frontiers." The Canadian chain of forts connecting the St. Lawrence with the Ohio had been severed forever and the French domination of the Ohio was at an end; "the Indians as usual, paid homage to the conquering power." Washington in his report from Fort Pitt to Governor Fau-

quier said, "this fortunate and indeed unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects. The Delawares are suing for peace, and I doubt not that other tribes on the Ohio will follow their example. A trade, free, open and on equitable terms is what they seem much to desire and I do not know so effectual a way of riveting them to our interest, as by sending out goods immediately to this place for that purpose," and again, "the preparatory steps should immediately be taken for preserving the communication from Virginia, by constructing a post at Red-Stone Creek, which should greatly facilitate the supplying of our troops on the Ohio, where a formidable garrison should be sent as soon as the season will admit."

The fall of Fort Duquesne foretold the doom of the French on the Ohio. Washington received much merited glory from the final result, for as Bancroft justly testifies, "Vast as were the preparations, Forbes would never, but for Washington, have seen the Ohio." But the unfortunate Forbes, a brave and praiseworthy officer, who died a few weeks after the successful ending of his expedition, seems to have received scant recognition from the hand of history. Kingsford, the calm and fair historian of Canada, pays fitting tribute to the British general: "No monument is erected to Forbes, either in Christ Church, where he was buried, in his native place, or at any spot in the empire which he served so faithfully. No *Campo Santo*, devoted to the memory of the illustrious dead, displays a tablet to record his services, his abnegation, and his undaunted resolution. Pennsylvania and Virginia, and Pittsburg which he founded, have not only forgotten all that

he achieved, but have ceased to remember even that he lived. Notwithstanding this neglect, his name will ever remain prominently emblazoned in its own nobility in the page of history as that of one, whose genius, firmness, and patriotism secured for the British race the valley of the Ohio, with the southern shore of Lake Erie, and the territory extending to the Mississippi."

The fall of Fort Duquesne was the closing event, on the western frontier, of the French and Indian War, which terminated a year later (1759) on the memorable heights of Abraham, before the battle-battered walls of quaint Quebec, in the tragic and dramatic defeat of the intrepid Montcalm by the invincible Wolfe, who, the night before the contest, presaged his victorious death upon the field by repeating the lines of Grey,

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave  
Await alike th' inevitable hour,  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."



CHAPTER XV.

EXPEDITION OF ROGERS' RANGERS



IN September, 1760, just one year after the fall of Quebec, the Canadian army under Francis Gaston Levis, yielded Montreal, the stronghold in which the French made their last stand of resistance. It was a bloodless siege on the part of the British and Provincial troops under Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander in chief of his Majesty's troops in America. The result was inevitable and there was naught remaining for the unimpeded assailants but to demand the surrender of the doomed city. The capitulation of the French included "all of Canada, which it was claimed, extended to the headwaters of the Miami, the Wabash and the Illinois," or as the articles of surrender read, "our posts situated upon our frontiers, from the coast of Acadia, to Detroit, Michilimakinac and other posts." This embraced therefore, the Ohio country, east of the Illinois, south of Lake Erie and north of La Belle Riviere. No disposition of Louisiana and the valley of the Mississippi was made in the articles as signed by Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, those sections being left to be disposed of later in the permanent treaty. Certainly, however, the war was over, and the work of conquest complete, but it still remained for the British to assume possession of the western outposts, "where the Lillies of France had not yet descended from the flagstaff." The responsibility of this task was immediately assigned by General Amherst to one Major Robert Rogers, with a detachment from his regiment of "rangers," which command "was the most famous single organization of the Seven Years War."

Robert Rogers, a native of New Hampshire, who had, previous to the French War, won distinction as an Indian fighter, was authorized by the English government to raise a regiment of border men, to serve independent of the main army, as scouts and bush-whackers on the frontiers. He was fully equal to the task. The boldest and hardiest youth of the colonies flocked to his standard, and he speedily organized five companies, known as Rogers' Rangers, "half hunters, half woodsmen, trained in a discipline of their own, and armed, like Indians, with hatchet, knife, and gun," in the use of which all were experts. Their garb was an imitation of Indian costume, composed of dressed deer-skin with the hair on the outside for warmth. These select companies of self-made warriors, among the officers of whom were Israel Putnam and John Stark, did valiant service in the mountainous region of Lake George, "the debatable ground between the hostile forts of Ticonderoga and William Henry." The daring raids of the Rangers in the war made them famous, while the leader, Robert Rogers became one of the unique and conspicuous figures of his time. He was sagacious, resolute, and tireless, though with a "vain, restless and grasping spirit and more than doubtful honesty" as the later years of his life seemed to have indicated. Sir William Johnson testified Rogers was "a good Ranger for he was fit for nothing else, neither has nature calculated him for a large command in that service." Amherst, however, seems to have chosen well when he selected Rogers and a portion of his followers, as the party to go upon this French fort surrendering errand. Rogers added to



### ROBERT ROGERS

Major Robert Rogers. Leader of the expedition in 1760 to receive the French forts on Lake Erie and the West. From an engraved portrait made in 1776, a copy of which is now in the possession of the Library of the City of Fremont, Ohio.

## THE RISE AND FALL

ROBERT ROGERS

Major Robert Rogers, leader of the expedition in 1760 to retrieve the French forts on Lake Erie and the West. From an engraved portrait made in 1770, a copy of which is now in the possession of the Library of the City of Fremont, Ohio.





the elements of his rugged personality a sort of literary cultivation, and "as a writer was not contemptible." He wrote and published several books, chiefly narratives of his own experience. One of these "Journals" includes a brief diary, written in a blunt, official style, of this expedition to receive the French posts, and from which diary we obtain our main facts.

It was on September 13, (1760) only five days after the capitulation of Montreal, that Rogers and his chosen detachment of some two hundred, set forth up the St. Lawrence in fifteen "whale boats." The flotilla gained Lake Ontario, the northern shores of which they skirted, crossed its western extremity and reached the fort on the Niagara, around the foaming and roaring falls of which river they portaged their crude little navy of flat boats and canoes. At various stopping places, Rogers relates, "the Indians seemed to be well pleased with the news we brought them of the surrender of all Canada."

In the articles of surrender, M. Vaudreuil, governor of Canada was careful to provide that, "The savages or Indians, allies of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they choose to remain there, they shall not be molested on any pretense whatever, for having carried arms and served his Most Christian Majesty (Louis)." Vaudreuil also wrote the home government, "all the nations of the Beautiful River witnessed with sorrow the departure of the French." Evidently the wily Indians were adepts in playing both sides for their friends.

On reaching Fort Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.), where Colonel Henry Bouquet was then in command, Major

Rogers, leaving his force to await his return, with a proper escort "in a bark canoe, proceeded to French Creek and at night encamped on the road, half way to Fort du Boeuf." Continuing on, "he lodged at Venango; from thence went down the river Ohio," to Fort Pitt, where he delivered to General Monkton, the commandant, certain dispatches from General Amherst. This errand accomplished, Rogers returned to Presque Isle, where his armament, on November 4th, resumed its romantic journey westward, on the waters of Erie. The "shore party" of the expedition, as it left Presque Isle, consisted of 42 Rangers, 15 Royal Americans and 20 Indians, the latter, Iroquois, Shawnees and Delawares, under the command of Captain Andrew Montour. George Croghan, the Indian trader and guide, also accompanied the expedition, commanding one of the boats and acting as official interpreter for the party.

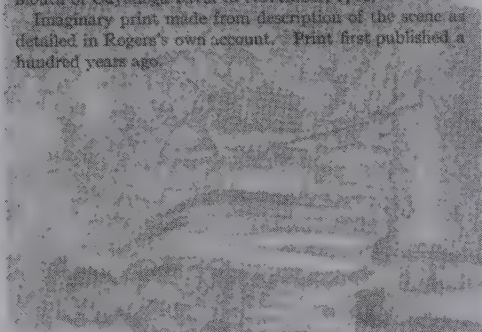
Curious, indeed, is some of the reading in the diary of the commander. The exact order of his "march," from Presque Isle was given him with great particularity; for instance, the instructions read: "it is recommended to the soldiers, as well as officers, not to mind the waves of the lake; but when the surf is high, to stick to their oars, and the men at helm to keep the boat quartering on the waves and briskly follow, then no mischief will happen by any storm whatever."

In a few days the fleet reached, "the mouth of Chogage River" as Rogers calls the Cuyahoga. Here the Major writes, "we met with a party of Attawa Indians, just arrived from Detroit. We informed them

### PONTIAC AND MAJOR ROGERS

Meeting of Pontiac and Major Robert Rogers at the mouth of Cuyahoga River in November, 1760.

Imaginary print made from description of the scene as detailed in Rogers's own account. Print first published a hundred years ago.



## THE RISE AND PROGRESS

ROBERT MONTEAGUE AND MAJOR ROGERS

... his ... with ...  
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 ... on the road, half way ...  
 ... continued ...  
 ... went down the river Ohio ...  
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... a few days the fleet reached, "the mouth of the ...  
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 ... just arrived from Detroit. We informed them ...







of our success in the total reduction of Canada, and that we were going to bring off the French garrison at Detroit, who were included in the capitulation." What took place at "Chogage" is of much importance. This party of "Attawa" Indians was an embassy from the famed Ottawa chief Pontiac, "ruler of all that country." The embassy peremptorily forbade the English to advance further until they had secured an interview with the great chief, "who was close at hand." Pontiac himself according to the Journal statements of Rogers, arrived at Rogers' camp the same day, and "it is here, for the first time, that this remarkable man stands forth distinctly on the page of history." The savage king haughtily challenged Rogers' right to enter the chief's domain, stating he would consider the matter and give answer the next morning. In a little book with the pretentious title, "A Concise Account of North America" written by Major Rogers, and published in London, 1765, the author gives a more extended report of the conferences between himself and "Ponteack," as he calls the chief, than he did in his journal of that expedition. We can do no better than cite Mr. Rogers' own report: "Ponteack is their present King or Emperor, who has certainly the largest empire and greatest authority of any Indian Chief that has appeared on the continent since our acquaintance with it. He puts on an air of majesty and princely grandeur, and is greatly honoured and revered by his subjects. He not long since formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations together under his authority, but miscarried in the attempt. In the year 1760, when I commanded and marched the first

detachment into this country that was ever sent there by the English, I was met on my way by an embassy from him, of some of his warriors, and some of the chiefs of the tribes that are under him; the purport of which was, to let me know, that Ponteach was at a small distance, coming peaceably, and that he desired me to halt my detachment till such time as he could see me with his own eyes. His ambassadors had also orders to inform me, that he was Ponteach, the King and Lord of the country I was in. At first salutation when we met, he demanded my business into his country, and how it happened that I dared to enter it without his leave? When I informed him that it was not with any design against the Indians that I came, but to remove the French out of his country, who had been an obstacle in our way to mutual peace and commerce, and acquainted him with my instructions for that purpose. I at the same time delivered him several friendly messages, or belts of wampum, which he received, but gave me no other answer, than that he stood in the path I travelled in till next morning, giving me a small string of wampum, as much as to say, I must not march further without his leave. When he departed for the night, he enquired whether I wanted any thing that his country afforded, and he would send his warriors to fetch it? I assured him that any provisions they brought should be paid for; and the next day we were supplied by them with several bags of parched corn, and some other necessaries. At our second meeting he gave me the pipe of peace, and both of us by turns smoked with it; and he assured me he had made

peace with me and my detachment; that I might pass thro' his country unmolested, and relieve the French garrison; and that he would protect me and my party from any insults that might be offered by the Indians; and, as an earnest of his friendship, he sent one hundred warriors to protect and assist us in driving one hundred fat cattle, which we had brought for the use of the detachment from Pittsburg, by the way of Presque Isle. He likewise sent to the several Indian towns on the south-side and west-end of Lake Erie, to inform them that I had his consent to come into the country. He attended me constantly after this interview till I arrived at Detroit, and while I remained in the country, and was the means of preserving the detachment from the fury of the Indians, who had assembled at the mouth of the strait with an intent to cut us off. I had several conferences with him, in which he discovered great strength of judgment, and a thirst after knowledge. He endeavored to inform himself of our military and discipline. He often intimated to me, that he could be content to reign in his country in subordination to the King of Great Britain, and was willing to pay him such annual acknowledgment as he was able in furs, and to call him uncle."

This incident, as depicted by Rogers, and vividly re-portrayed by Parkman, is of great historic interest. But unfortunately the occurrence of this scene like many another popular historical picture, has been questioned. George Croghan, the interpreter of the expedition, also kept a daily journal of the events as they occurred, a journal more complete and probably

more correct, than that of Rogers. In Croghan's "Journal," which is reprinted by Mr. Thwaites, in the latter's series of "Early Western Travels," there is no mention of Chief Pontiac. In the relation of the meeting by Rogers and the Indian embassy, at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, though Thwaites suggests it may have been at some other river, perhaps the Grand, Croghan speaks of the Indian spokesman as "The principal man of the Ottawas," giving no name, and reports him as saying "he had not long to live and said, pointing to two men 'these men I have appointed to transact the business of my tribe.'" This could hardly have applied to Pontiac, who was young and not likely to have delegated any authority. Croghan, as all his reports and journals show, was a matter-of-fact man, while Rogers, as his writings amply prove, was highly possessed of the artistic temperament and imaginative faculty. Rogers is, however, very clear and positive in his portraiture of Pontiac. The assumed augustness and self importance of a great chief would not so easily have appealed to Croghan. All Indians, doubtless looked very much alike to that backwoods trader and most surely, other chiefs than Pontiac took part in the interview. After carefully examining the two journals, which merely fail to coincide, rather than tend to create any direct conflict, we are unprepared to cut Pontiac from the caste of that dramatic scene, which has been so graphically photographed in history that it will with difficulty be erased.

Proceeding on his journey, Rogers reached Lake Sandusky, six miles beyond which he made encamp-

ment whence he "detached Mr. Brheme with a letter to Monsieur Beleter the French commandant at Detroit," that the English soldiers were approaching to take possession of that post, and "such other posts as are in that district." Nearing Detroit, Rogers was greeted by several Huron sachems, who informed him that a body of four hundred Indian warriors was collected at the entrance "into the great straight in order to obstruct our passage." He replied to the sachems, "tell your warriors to mind their Fathers [the French] no more, for they are all prisoners to your brothers [the English], who pitied them and left them their houses and goods, on their swearing by the great One who made the world, to become as Englishmen forever."

The boats of the expedition continued to pull slowly and cautiously up the river until they "landed at half a mile short of the fort, and fronting it" where the Rangers pitched their tents on a field of grass, in full sight of the flag of France, "flying for the last time above the bark roofs and weather-beaten palisades of the little fortified town." The Indians informed Rogers "that Monsieur Beleter had set up an high flag-staff, with a wooden effigy of a man's head on top, and upon that a crow; that the crow was to represent himself [Beleter], the man's head mine [Rogers], and the meaning of the whole, that he would scratch out my brains." But the symbol was not prophetic. The French garrison reluctantly obeyed the summons to quit their quarters but the blue-coated defenders of New France defiled upon the plains and laid down their arms. The "English colors were hoisted, and



the French taken down," at which about seven hundred Indian warriors, assembled from the nearby villages of the Wyandots, Ottawas and Pottawattomies, "lately the active allies of France, greeted the sight with a burst of triumphant yells." Rogers adds, "they, [Indians] seemed amazed at the submissive salutation of the inhabitants, expressed their satisfaction at our generosity in not putting them to death, and said they would always for the future fight for a nation thus favored by Him that made the world." This scene occurred on a bleak and chill day in the last of November. Captain Campbell and his company were placed in possession of the fort. Rogers then sent two subordinate officers with twenty men to take possession of the Fort Miami, on the Maumee and Fort Ouatanon, on the Wabash, the latter fort being called by Rogers "Gatanois." At the same time an ensign was sent, "for the French troops at the Shawnees town on the Ohio." Major Rogers made many treaties with the several tribes in the vicinity of Detroit, the speeches concerning which are set forth by Croghan in his journal. Rogers, accompanied by Montour, and a party of Indians, then set out for Lake Huron to receive the garrison at Michilimackinac, but soon the storms and gathering ice so obstructed his advance that he abandoned further progress and returned to Detroit, leaving the post, just mentioned, as well as the more remote posts, St. Marie, Green Bay and St. Joseph, in the possession of the French, until the next season, when they were relieved by a detachment of Royal Americans, sent forward for that purpose.



Rogers remained at Detroit, till near Christmas, when with part of his command, he set out for Pittsburg, marching along the west end of Lake Erie, till the second of January, 1761, when, by way of the Maumee, he arrived at Lake Sandusky. Croghan then says, "We came to Chenunda, an Indian village six miles from Sandusky," which was probably the French fort Junundat. Thence his party followed the inland trail to the Muskingum Creek, which they followed down to "Mingo Cabbins," thence to the Delawares' town called "Beaver Town," on the west side of the Maskongon (Muskingum) River, containing, Rogers says, about one hundred and eighty warriors. "On the 23d we came to the Ohio, opposite to Fort Pitt, whence Rogers took the common road to Philadelphia, from thence to New York, where after this long, fatiguing tour, I arrived February 14, 1761."

Parkman says Rogers was "tall and strong in person and rough in features; his mind by no means uncultivated and his books and unpublished letters bear witness that his style was not contemptible." Among his publications was a curious drama, called "Ponteach or The Savages of America."

But the subsequent career of Major Rogers was not to his credit. Six years after his western expedition, Rogers was tried by courtmartial for a meditated act of treason, the surrender of Fort Michilimackinac into the hands of the Spaniards, who were at that time masters of the Upper Louisiana. Not long after, if we may trust Rogers' account, he proceeded to the Barbary States, entered the service of the Dey of Algiers and fought under his banners. At the opening

of the war of the American Revolution, Rogers returned to his native country, where he made professions of patriotism, but was strongly suspected by many, including Washington himself, of acting a spy. In fact he soon openly espoused the British cause and received a colonel's commission from the king. In 1778 he was proscribed and banished under the act of New Hampshire, and the remainder of his life was passed in such obscurity that it is difficult to determine when and where he died.

The work of Canadian conquest was finished, and "nothing now remained within the power of the French except a few posts and settlements on the Mississippi and the Wabash, not included in the capitulation of Montreal." The posts left in the possession of the French were Cahokia, at the mouth of Cahokia Creek, less than four miles below the site of St. Louis; St. Philip, forty-five miles below Cahokia, on the Mississippi; Kaskaskia, on Kaskaskia River, six miles from its mouth; Fort Chartres, about fifteen miles northwest from Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi; Prairie du Rocher, near Fort Chartres; and Vincennes, on the Wabash. All these settlements were under the government of St. Ange de Belle Rive, commandant at Fort Chartres, subordinate to M. D'Abbadie, at New Orleans, who was director-general and civil and military commandant of the province of Louisiana.

But the changed position of the Indian as a political power deserves observation. Previous to the success of the English in the French and Indian War, the Indian as a diplomatic factor held the balance of power. His influence as we have seen was sought in turn by

the French and by the English. Now that England was supreme the value of the Indian as an ally began to wane. The cause for conciliation by the English no longer obtained. Unscrupulous traders, men of desperate fortunes—villains of the vilest sort, as noted in the life of Johnson, “hovered over their prey until they could safely pounce upon their victims; and now that hostilities had ceased, they poured in from all quarters upon the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia.” It was also apparent that the treatment, which the tribesmen of the far west had received from the English, was far from reassuring.

In the spring of 1761, as we learn from his published “travels,” the English trader Alexander Henry visited the west as far as Michilimackinac. He relates that whenever he came in contact with the tribesmen, he found the most hostile disposition toward the English. At the post, just named, Henry was received by Minavavana, a Chippewa chief, who inveighed bitterly against the neglect shown his people by the victorious English, which neglect was particularly evidenced in the fact that no treaty had yet been made with the tribes, nor had any presents been sent them. While this was the sentiment of the nations of the Northwest, the Ohio Indians, the Delawares and Shawnees especially, were stirred by fear and hatred, as they had learned that the Ohio Company, dormant during the war, had “sent to England for such instructions to the Virginia government as would enable them to renew their efforts and colonize their original grant.”

Sir William Johnson, whose jurisdiction extended over all the tribes of the northern colonies, and whose

watchful eye saw every move friendly or hostile, determined with the sanction of General Amherst, to visit Detroit and in person counsel and treat with the restless and dissatisfied tribes. Provided with a large quantity of goods to please and placate the Indians, the Baronet, as Sir William was often styled, set out from Fort Johnson on July fifth (1761). He was accompanied by his son, John Johnson, and by his nephew—subsequently his son-in-law—Lieutenant Guy Johnson, who acted as his private secretary; and by Captain Andrew Montour at the head of an escort of Mohawks and Oneidas. The party proceeded in canoes from Fort Stanwix. The incidents, mostly commonplace, are recorded in detail in the diary of Sir William Johnson and published as an appendix to Stone's *Life of the Baronet*. This diary is ample evidence of Sir William Johnson's intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, the character of those people, his diplomatic talent and great influence over the tribes. At Fort Niagara the party was increased by a company of Royal Americans and New York volunteers under Lieutenant Ogden. The whole party embarked in thirteen bateaux and one birch canoe. On the third of September Detroit was reached and the Johnson convoy was received with salvos from the fort, which was in command of Captain Campbell. Dinners, balls, military parades, and Indian negotiations now fill the pages of the diary. The tribesmen of many nations of the Ottawa confederacy came from far and near "that, with their own eyes, they might behold the man, whose home was the fireplace of the dreaded Iroquois." Nor was the assemblage confined solely to the western tribes; mem-

bers of the Shawnees, Delawares and other Indians from the Ohio were there as spectators.

Sir Johnson, surrounded by the English officers, all in full uniform, spoke to the conclave "with all that dignity of mein which is so pleasing to the Indian." He expressed, in eloquent terms, his thanks to the Hurons and Wyandots for their friendship to the English, and affirmed the desire of the English to cultivate, through an honest trade, amicable relations with the western tribes. Several chiefs made reply. The sombre even tenor of the council and speech making was disturbed by a turbulent spokesman, an Ohio Indian, "alias Kanaghragoit," a "White Mingo, who rose up and accused Adariaghta, the chief warrior of the Hurons, of endeavoring to incite the Ohio Indians to general massacre of the English in the Ohio country. There was much excitement over the threatened personal encounter between the chiefs, and at this point Johnson's journal reads: "After a great deal of altercation, I got up and desired that they would not go to too great lengths, being now joined in stricter friendship and alliance than ever; left them liquor and broke up the meeting, telling them I intended next day delivering them some goods, &c."

For some two weeks Johnson conciliated the Indians, exchanged social civilities with the French and admonished the English to establish friendly relations with the tribes. The result of the Detroit sojourn was most satisfactory. "The western confederacy of Indians," writes Sir William, "seem entirely disposed to favor the English; and will not, in my opinion, unless provoked, be ever persuaded to break the peace







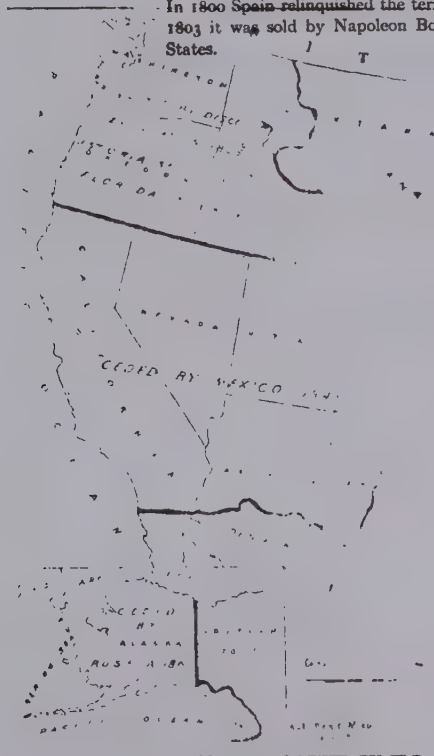
which I have made with them." On his return, Sir William Johnson halted a day at Sandusky to examine the proposed site for the blockhouse; and as there was a direct road from that place to Presque Isle, George Croghan was dispatched to Colonel Bouquet with instructions for the traders at Fort Pitt. The Baronet arrived at his home, Johnson Hall, Johnstown, the thirteenth of October, "when I found all my family well; so ended my tour—*Gloria Deo Soli.*"

On the third of November, 1762, in the beautiful forest-famed palace of Fontainebleau, the three great nations, England, France and Spain, signed preliminary articles of agreement, adjusting the results accruing respectively to each nation from the Seven Years' War, which articles in the following February (1763) were converted into the permanent Treaty of Paris. This treaty surpasses all others in history for the magnitude of its territorial transfers. Without specifying many minor details, unnecessary for our purpose, we give the chief features of the treaty. England ceded Cuba and other islands back to Spain, in compensation for Florida, the city of New Orleans and that vast tract west of the Mississippi known as "Louisiana." To Great Britain, France surrendered all the rest of her American possessions, including Canada and the Ohio Valley, and it was moreover expressly agreed that the boundary between the French and English possessions should be forever set at rest by a "line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source, as far as the River Iberville and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea." It was the end of



## THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY

Map of the Western Territories, showing the Louisiana country, ceded by France to Spain in the Treaty of 1763. In 1800 Spain relinquished the territory to France and in 1803 it was sold by Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.



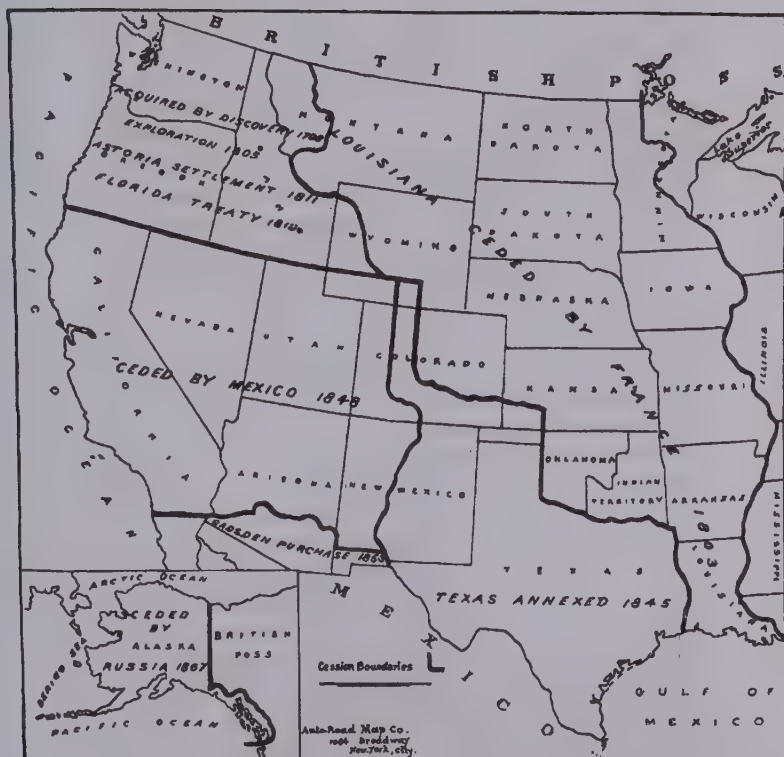
## THE RISE AND PROGRESS

### THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY

Map of the Western Territory, showing the Louisiana Territory, and the French and Spanish boundaries in the Treaty of 1763. In 1803 Spain relinquished the territory to France and in 1803 it was sold by Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.

Colon was dispatched to Colonel Bouquet, who was then in command of the traders at Fort Pitt. The latter, in a letter to his home, John on 11<sup>th</sup> John, 1763, wrote: "I am glad to hear that you are well, when I find all my family are the same." *John's Letter to the S. L.*

In 1763, in the Treaty of Paris, the French ceded to the British the three great rivers of the North American continent, the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and Spain, Spain, Louisiana, and the Florida territory. The results of the Seven Years' War, which ended in February 1763, were cemented in the Treaty of Paris. The treaty, which was signed in 1763, for the first time in history for the first time of its territory. Without specifying the minor details, it was for our purpose, we give the chief features of the treaty. England ceded Cuba and other islands to Spain, in compensation for Florida, the city of New Orleans and that vast tract west of the Mississippi known as "Louisiana." The Great Britain, France, and the United States considered all the rest of the American possessions, including Canada and the Ohio Valley, and it was moreover expressly agreed that the boundary between the French and English possessions should be forever set at rest by a "line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source, as far as the River Iberville and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river and of the Gulf of Mexico to the sea." It was the end of the





the French possession in America, save the subsequent brief ownership of Louisiana by Napoleon Bonaparte.

This many sided war in Europe was over and hostilities in that part of the world were at an end. Not so in America. The dark-eyed Latin and the blue-eyed Anglo-Saxon had fought out their differences and divided up the new continent, but the red-skinned, raven-haired, native savage, who claimed and occupied the territories that had been the prize of the world's war, was not represented nor recognized in the "family compact" of Fontainbleau nor the final division of the spoils at Paris. The Indian, especially of the Ohio Valley, was yet to be reckoned with and for half a century he bravely and unyieldingly resisted the right of the civilized free-booting invaders to despoil him of land and home. To him the Seven Years' War had merely exchanged one "pale-face" conqueror for another. Indeed the last successful invader was less welcome and more dreaded than the first. The possession of Canada and the establishment of the French posts along the southern shores of the Great Lakes and the inland rivers, brought the French into close touch with the free forest life of the native savage. The Frenchmen, moreover, were passing discoverers or tradesmen going and coming as adventure or commerce dictated and with the Gallic suavity of manner and pliability of temperament they easily made friends with the tribesmen, giving them gaudy presents, flattering them with honied words and amusing them with their gay attire and vivacious disposition. The venturesome Canadians drank and danced with the warriors, made love to their maidens and married

their squaws, while the spectacular religion of the priests and missionaries appealed to the superstitious nature of the "children of the forest." Not so with the Briton successor. The Anglo-Saxon displayed "no such phenomena of mingling races." Cold-blooded, unsympathetic, indomitable, the Englishman came for a serious purpose and came to stay;

"With master policy refined,  
To rule the world of human kind;  
In closest league with royal state,  
Wide conquest to accelerate;  
With grasp of universal plan,  
Embracing every race of man;  
Such was the order shrewdly sent,  
To seize the western continent."

The Briton seized the land and settled thereon, cut down the forest and built his log cabin. His traders bullied and cheated the red-men while the red-coated officers and soldiers often treated them with rudeness and contempt. The numerous tribes of the Ohio country and the more remote northwest had been the active allies of the French. As we have seen, as a result of the French and Indian war, the French posts, east and northeast of the Ohio had passed into English possession. So had most of the French posts in the Ohio country; but the extreme western settlements of Vincennes, Chartres and Cahokia still remained under French control.

Mainly by the aid of the colonists was the French and Indian War won by England, and the vast domain of the Province of Quebec, including the Northwest Territory, was added to the British possessions. The colonists therefore expected to reap large results from this victory. The inhabitants of the Atlantic colonies,

whose charters gave them theoretical territory "from sea to sea," looked forward to taking possession of the rich lands beyond the Ohio. Especially did the Virginians, Pennsylvanians and New Yorkers anticipate new homes in the valleys north and west of the Ohio. But in all this they were sorely disappointed. Once England had the right of possession, her greed and short-sightedness dictated a prohibition unlooked for by the American colonists. This prohibition took the form of the Quebec Act of 1763, the terms of which exert a very important influence in the subsequent events of our history.

This famous act was a proclamation concerning America, issued October 7, 1763, by the king "with the advice of our said privy council." After congratulating his subjects upon the great advantages that must accrue to their commerce, manufactures and navigation from the acquisition of territory, His Majesty proceeds to constitute four new governments, three of them on the American continent and one in the West Indies. This latter of course does not interest us. His new American territories on the gulf, he divides into East Florida and West Florida, setting their boundaries. The government of Quebec was established by being bounded in the words of the proclamation "on the Laborador coast by the River St. John (Saguenay), and from thence to a line drawn from the head of that river, through the Lake St. John, to the south end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said line crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain, in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the highlands which divide the

rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coasts of the Baie des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the St. Lawrence by the west end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River St. John."

The king then gives directions for constituting provincial governments for Quebec, West Florida and East Florida respectively on the principle of representation. He also instructs the royal governors of these provinces to grant lands to the officers and men who have served in the army and navy in the war, according to a prescribed schedule. He further sets forth the terms upon which inhabitants may resort to and settle in these provinces. This proclamation of course has nothing to say concerning the established thirteen colonies. But it nevertheless vitally touched their interests. In the establishment of the provinces named and bounded, it is seen that the country west of the Alleghany mountains, the Ohio country and the great northwest was not embraced in the new governments. As to that territory the proclamation read:

"We do, therefore, with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor or commander-in-chief, in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretense whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no



governor or commander-in-chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume, for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which have not been ceded or purchased by us. \* \* \* and we do, by the advice of our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians, to take out a license for carrying on such trade, from the governor or commander-in-chief of any of our colonies respectively, where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or commissaries, to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade."

All of which meant that His Royal Majesty George III, by advice of his stupid privy council, proposed to keep the great northwest territory as an Indian reservation, from which the colonists were excluded. The motive of this policy has been much discussed and perhaps the remarks of Prof. Hinsdale in his volume in "The Old Northwest" are the most worthy of quotation on this subject: "Solicitude for the Indians, and anxiety for the peace and safety of the colonies, are the reasons alleged in the proclamation itself. The 'whereas' introducing the proclamation says it is essential to the royal interest and the security of the colonies that the tribes of Indians living under the

king's protection shall not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of his dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by him, are reserved to them as their hunting grounds; and a declaration follows the prohibition that it is his royal will and pleasure, for the present, to reserve under his sovereign protection and domination, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands within the new governments, within the limits of the Hudson Bay Company and beyond the sources of the rivers falling into the sea from the west and northwest. The king strictly forbids his loving subjects making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands described, without his special leave and license; and he further enjoins all persons who have seated themselves upon any of the lands so reserved to the Indians, forthwith to abandon them. If at any time the Indians are inclined to dispose of their lands, they shall be purchased only in the king's name, by the governor or commander-in-chief of the colony within which the lands lie. The proclamation winds up with some wholesome regulations respecting the Indian trade."

Probably the English Tory statesmen thought by this exclusion act to accomplish a two-fold result. First, restriction of the growing power and territory of the colonists, who by their bravery and prowess in the French and Indian War had given evidence of their ability to cope with an enemy. Second, to placate the Redmen and retain their friendly alliance in case warfare should make their coöperation desirable. Also, it was desirable to hold their wild, game pro-

ducing domain, an undisturbed field for continued fur trade. But the American Indian who had had no more part or say in all these proceedings, the Treaty of Paris and the Quebec Act, than the trees of the forest, amidst which he roamed, did not appreciate, if he understood, the specious but selfish policy presented in England's pretended position. The wily Indian in his unerring instinct, however, feared the Greeks giving gifts.



CHAPTER XVI.  
CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC



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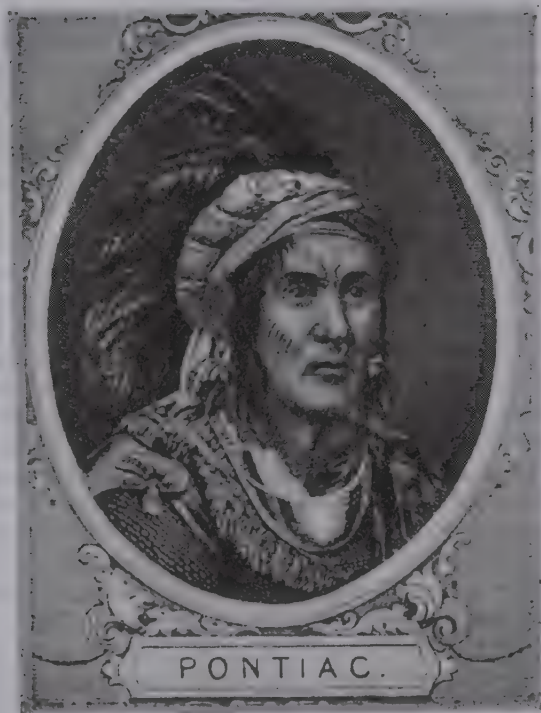


THE sentiment of resistance to the new English domination particularly pervaded the Indians of the west and northwest. The tribes of Canada, New York and New England, whatever their feelings, were hopeless as to any efforts to thwart the encroachments of the white race. The situation at the close of the French and Indian War is clearly revealed in a letter from Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade:

"The Indians of the Ottawa Confederacy (and who began the present war) and also the Six Nations, however their sentiments may have been misrepresented, all along considered the northern parts of North America, as their sole property from the beginning; and although the conveniency of trade (with fair speeches and promises) induced them to afford both us and the French settlements in their country, yet they have never understood such settlement as a Dominion, especially as neither we nor the French ever made a conquest of them; they have even repeatedly said at several conferences in my presence that they were amused by both parties with stories of their upright intentions, and that they made war for the protection of the Indians' rights, but that they plainly found, it was carried on, to see who would become masters of what was the property of neither the one or the other."

The attitude of the Indians found its leader and spokesman in Pontiac, one of the towering figures of his race. He became at once the man of the hour. Clouds of vagueness overhang the origin of Pontiac. The place and date of his birth are both matters of dispute. There seems to be no doubt that he was





PONTIAC.

the son of an Ottawa chief; his mother is variously stated to have been an Ojibway, a Miami and a Sac. This is a reversal of the usual difficulty in establishing the parentage of a distinguished Indian. As one author says, speaking of the law of heritage with the savages, "maternity is a matter of observation, while paternity is a matter of inference." Authorities also vary as to the date of his nativity from 1712 to 1720, while historical writers usually content themselves with the vague statement that he was born "on the Ottawa River," without designating which Ottawa River, for many in his day were so called; indeed the Ottawas gave to several streams upon which they sojourned for any length of time the name "Ottawa," after their own tribe. Other tribes followed this custom, of giving their tribal name to the river of their temporary habitation. Jean Baptiste Richardville, whose Indian name was Peshewah—"the Lynx"—was a half breed Miami, his mother belonging to that tribe and his father being French. Richardville was born on the banks of the St. Mary's River, near the present site of Fort Wayne, about the year 1761. He lived and grew up in the locality of Pontiac's boyhood and was intimate with many who had been personally associated with Pontiac. Richardville, who succeeded Little Turtle as chief of the Miamis and who in the latter portion of his life became "the wealthiest Indian in North America," is on record as often asserting that Pontiac was born by the Maumee at the mouth of the Auglaize, then called the Ottawa by the members of that tribe. This would locate Pontiac's place of birth at, or near, the present site of Defiance. So that the great Ottawa

## PONTIAC

The chief of the Ottawas. Born about 1715 on the Maumee River at the mouth of the Aughaze. He was one of the most distinguished of his race and formed a confederacy of some twenty tribes of the Northwest with the purpose of exterminating the whites from the country west of the Alleghany Mountains.

This is a photograph of a painting made from descriptions of his appearance, by some of his white contemporaries.

## THE RISE AND PR

A full and complete history of the Ottawa River, from about 1715 on the  
 down to the mouth of the English River. He was one  
 of the most distinguished of his race and formed a con-  
 siderable part of some twenty tribes of the Northwest with the  
 Ottawa River. He was a white from the country west  
 of the Allegheny Mountains.  
 This is a photograph of a painting made from descriptions  
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 He lived from 1712 to 1728, and  
 he fully consent themselves with  
 he was born "on the Ottawa  
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 tation, whose Indian name  
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 the Ottawa River, the present site of Port  
 and grew up in  
 and was intimate  
 with Pentecost, who  
 and Little Turtle as child  
 of the latter part of his  
 in North America  
 that Pentecost was  
 the mouth of the English  
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 So that the great Ottawa



PONTIAC.





chief, like many another great leader of the red race, was a native of Ohio. Chief Richardville often asserted that Pontiac was born of an Ottawa father and a Miami mother. Dodge, in "Redmen of the Ohio Valley" states it was claimed Pontiac was captured from a Catawba tribe and adopted by the Ottawas. But there is no authority for that claim.

One of the best characterizations of Pontiac is that by Daniel S. Drake, in his masterly work on "The Indian Tribes of the United States," wherein he says the Ottawa chief possessed "more than ordinary intelligence, ambition, eloquence, decision of character, power of combination and great energy. In subtlety and craft he was unsurpassed. He was of middle height with a figure of remarkable symmetry. His complexion was unusually dark and his features, though void of regularity, were expressive of boldness and vigor, which united with an habitually imperious and peremptory manner, were indicative of unusual strength of will."

We have already quoted the impression the Ottawa chief made on Major Rogers in their forest meeting on the shore of Lake Erie. Pontiac, when we consider that he was limited by "the profound ignorance and barbarism of his people; by his own destitution of all education and information; and by the jealous, fierce and intractable spirit of his compeers," was certainly not only one of the greatest of his race but one of the regnant figures of Indian history. He too was a patriot, for he wrought for his nation nor was he less a prophet for in his intuitive soul he realized

the threatened destiny of his people. Like the red chieftain in Hiawatha, he saw into the future "of distant days that shall be" and

"Beheld the westward marches  
Of the unknown, crowded nations.  
All the land was full of people,  
Restless, struggling, toiling, striving,  
Speaking many tongues, yet feeling  
But one heart beat in their bosoms.  
In the woodlands rang their axes,  
Smoked their towers in all the valleys,  
Over all the lakes and rivers  
Rushed their great canoes of thunder."

Before the French relinquishment of their posts to the English, Pontiac was a commanding personage among the western tribes and his fame was known to all the Indian nations of America. He appears to have always been the adherent of the French and led his tribesmen, so many authorities assert, in support of De Beaujeu at the defeat of Braddock. That he was more than a mere savage warrior his career amply testifies. He had in no small degree the natural qualities of a successful man of affairs, if not indeed the abilities of a statesman. The New York Colonial Documents contain a letter from General Gage to the earl of Halifax, written at the close of the conspiracy, in which the general alluding to the Ottawa chief says, "there is reason to judge of Pontiac, not only as a savage, possessed of the most refined cunning and treachery natural to the Indians, but as a person of extra ability." He then continues that M. D'Abbadie, French governor of Louisiana, states that "Pontiac keeps two secretaries, one to write for him, the other to read the letters he received and he manages them

so as to keep each of them ignorant of what is transacted by the other."

Already the Ottawas, Ojibways, or Chippewas, and Pottawatomies had formed a sort of alliance of which he was the acknowledged head, and months previous to the time when the diplomats, amid the gilded splendors of Paris, were bartering away the American country of the savages, the latter, amid their forest homes, were secretly plotting the destruction of their European enemy. "From the Potomac to Lake Superior, and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, in every wigwam and hamlet of the forest, a deep-rooted hatred of the English increased with rapid growth."

The hostility of the Indian against the British was of course, assiduously promoted by the French who saw in it trouble for the British, possibly a regaining of their lost ground. The warlike and revengeful spirit of the Indian began to give itself vent. The smouldering fires were bound to burst forth. During the years 1761 and 1762, plots were hatched in various tribes to stealthily approach and, by attack or treacherous entrance, destroy the posts of Detroit, Fort Pitt and others. These plots were severally discovered in time to forestall their accomplishment.

But Indian indignation reached its height when in 1763 it was announced to the tribes that the king of France had ceded all their (Indian) country to the king of England, without consulting them in the matter. At once an uprising was set on foot, "such as was never before or since conceived or executed by North American Indians." It was determined and planned to make an assault upon all the British posts on the

same day; "then, having destroyed the garrisons to turn upon the defenseless frontier and ravage and lay waste the white settlements." It was fondly believed by thousands of braves that then the British might be exterminated or at least driven to the sea board and confined to their coast settlements. It was the great Chief Pontiac, who if he did not originally instigate, certainly fostered, directed and personally commanded this secretly arranged universal movement:

"Hang the peace pipe on the wall—  
Rouse the nations one and all!  
Tell them quickly to prepare  
For the bloody rites of War.  
Now begin the fatal dance,  
Raise the club and shake the lance,  
Now prepare the bow and dart—  
'Tis our fathers' ancient art;  
Let each heart be strong and bold  
As our fathers were of old.  
Warriors, up!—prepare—attack—  
'Tis the voice of Pontiac."

Pontiac's master mind comprehended the importance and necessity of combined and harmonious effort. He proposed to unite all the tribes into one confederacy for offensive operations. At the close of 1762 he dispatched ambassadors to the different nations; to the tribes of the north on the lakes; to the northwest, the head waters of the Mississippi and south to its mouth; to the east and the southeast. The Indians thus enlisted and banded together against the British comprised, "with few unimportant exceptions the whole Algonquin stock." Especially were the Ohio tribes solicited and secured: the Shawnees, the Miamis, the Wyandots and the Delawares. The Senecas were the only members of the Iroquois confederacy that joined

the league. The onslaught was to be made in the month of May, 1763. The tribes were to rise simultaneously at the various points and each tribe destroy the British garrison in its neighborhood. The destruction of Michilimackinac was allotted to the Ojibways and Sacs; Fort St. Joseph to the Illinois, the forts east and south to their adjacent tribes. It was a vast scheme, worthy the brain and courage of the greatest general and shrewdest statesman.

The chief center of Indian complicity and the main point of attack was the Post of Detroit, then the western headquarters of the British government, the defensive stockade of which was known as Fort Pontchartrain. Pontiac was personally to strike the first blow. The rendezvous of his painted and armed warriors was to be the banks of the little river Ecorces which emptied into the Detroit River a few miles below the Fort, located on the present site of Detroit. It was the 27th of April when the assembled warriors listened to the final war speech of the great chief. Pontiac was an orator of a high order, fierce and impassioned in style. He presented at length the injustice of the British as compared with that of the French; he set forth the danger to his race from the threatened supremacy of the British power; he predicted the awakening of "their great father the King of France," during whose sleep the English had robbed the Indian of his American possessions. In passionate appeals he aroused the vengeance and superstition of his people and warned them that the white man's civilization was poisoning and annihilating the red race. In his dramatic way he related to the superstitious Indians

a dream wherein the Great Spirit sent his message that they were to cast aside the weapons, the utensils of civilization and the "deadly rum" of the white men, and, with aid from the Great Spirit, drive the "dogs in red" from every post in their (Indian) country. He revealed his plans of destruction of the whites and the details of the plot to secure Detroit. He and a few of his chosen chiefs were to visit the fort, under pretense of a peaceful visit, gain admittance, seek audience with Major Henry Gladwyn, the commandant and his officers, and then at an agreed signal the chiefs were to draw their weapons, previously concealed beneath their blankets, raise the war whoop, rush upon the officers and strike them down. The Indian forces waiting meanwhile at the gate were then to assail the surprised and half-armed soldiers. Thus through this perfidious murder Detroit would fall an easy prey to the savages and Pontiac's conspiracy have a successful inauguration. His plan was approved. Just below Fort Detroit, on the same side of the river, was a Pottawattomie village; across the river some three miles up the current was an Ottawa village; on the same eastern side about a mile below Detroit was the Wyandot village. Along each side of the river for two or three miles were houses of the French settlers. "The King and lord of all this country," as Major Rogers called Pontiac, had located one of his homes, where he spent the early summer, on a little island (Isle à Pêche) at the opening of Lake St. Clair. Here he had a small oven-shaped cabin of bark and rushes. Here he dwelt with his squaws and children, and here doubt-



less he might often have been seen, lounging, Indian style, half naked, on a rush mat or bearskin.

The romantic and memorable siege of Fort Detroit cannot be recited in particularity here. For its exact details we refer the reader to the "Pontiac Manuscript" published in the Michigan Pioneer Collection. This original source of information from which we have gleaned many facts, is a translation of a diary kept and indited in French during the days of the siege, by an anonymous writer, though evidently a French priest. Its reliability is amply substantiated by contemporaneous authorities and from this manuscript Parkman drew freely in writing his unsurpassed account of the "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

According to the manuscript above mentioned, Pontiac's forces embraced members of the Fox nation, "governed by a chief named Ninivois, a man without backbone and very easily carried away;" also the Huron nation, "divided into two bands, governed by two different chiefs of different character, \* \* \* one named Také, was of the same character of Pondiak—(so the chief was called in the manuscript)—while the other, Teata, was a very discreet man of consummate prudence." Mackatepelicite, was the "second chief of the Ottawas" and aid to Pontiac. While runners were scurrying in all directions, to summon the other tribes, especially the Sauteux of the Saginaw, and remoter bands of the Hurons and Ottawas, Pontiac, "cherishing in his bosom a poison which was to carry death to the English, and perhaps to the French," perfected his plans for surprising and slaughtering the members of the garrison, consisting of one hundred and twenty

soldiers, eight officers and about forty others capable of bearing arms. Two armed schooners, "The Beaver" and "The Gladwyn," were anchored in the river near the fort. The day for stealthy and treacherous entry to the fort was set by Pontiac. But the night or day previous the plot was revealed to Gladwyn by a friendly Indian cognizant of the bloody scheme. The identity of this informant has created much confusion and dispute among the chroniclers. It is claimed that the friendly party was an Indian maiden who was engaged in making elk-skin moccasins for Gladwyn; that it was an Indian mistress of the post commandant; that it was an old squaw, subsequently severely punished by Pontiac for her treachery; the "Pontiac Manuscript" says it was "an Ottawa Indian, named Mahigama, who had only feebly given his voice in the conspiracy and who was not satisfied with the bad proceedings of those of his nation." Anyway, Gladwyn was warned and forearmed.

Pontiac and his little band of warriors with concealed weapons were admitted to the fort. Pontiac began his harangue of peace and friendly palaver and was about to give the preconcerted signal when Gladwyn raised his hand and the sound of clashing arms and drum beating was heard without. Pontiac "whose genius always furnished new resources," realized that his plans had gone awry and announced that he would "call again," next time with his squaws and children, and with his party withdrew; he "struggling with different emotions,—anger, fury, rage, like a lioness from whom her young had been taken." The next morning Pontiac, in hopes of regaining Gladwyn's



confidence, repaired to the fort with but three of his Ottawa chiefs, Mackatepelicite, Breton and Chavoinon. They bore in their hand the pipe of peace. Offering it to Gladwyn, Pontiac again protested his friendship for the British whom he declared "we love as our brother." A few days later the Indians thronged the open field behind the fort gate. It was closed and barred. Pontiac advancing demanded admittance. Gladwyn replied that he might enter, but only alone. The great chief, baffled and enraged, then "threw off the mask he had so long worn" and boldly declared his intention to make war. A day or two later the four tribes, Ottawas, Ojibways, Pottawatomies and Wyandots clamored about the fort and the attack was begun by volleys of bullets fired at the palisade walls. Thus opened the famous siege of Detroit, which lasted six months, from May 1 to November 1, 1763, one of the longest and most bitterly contested sieges in the history of western warfare.

The incomparable treachery of Pontiac in endeavoring to secure the fort by dissemblance of friendship was further evidenced by his pretense at a truce. Pontiac declaring his earnest desire for "firm and lasting peace," requested Gladwyn to send to the camp of the chief, Captain Campbell, Gladwyn's second in command, a veteran officer and most upright and manly in character. Campbell went, was made prisoner and subsequently foully and hideously murdered. Pontiac neglected no expedient known to Indian perfidy, cruelty or deviltry. He surpassed his race in all the detestable elements of their nature. His conduct from the first to last was only calculated to create distrust, contempt

and loathing. His warriors murdered the British settlers in the vicinity of the fort, burned their huts, robbed the Canadians and committed every variety of depredation.

Pontiac realizing the seriousness of the situation and recognizing the obstinate courage of the British garrison, prepared for a lengthy campaign. He ordered the Ottawa village moved across the river to the Detroit side, where it was located about a mile and a half northeast of the fort at the mouth of Parent's Creek, afterwards known as Bloody Run.

The British garrison bravely and patiently withstood all assaults and bided the time of rescue. By midnight sallies and other expedients they moved all exterior buildings, fences, trees and other obstacles that lay within the range of their guns or that might afford protection to sneaking and stealthy Indians who would crawl snake-like close to the palisades and fire at the sentinels and loopholes, or shoot their arrows tipped with burning tow upon the roofs of the structures within the fort. Fortunately the supply of water was inexhaustible; the provisions were wisely husbanded; friendly Canadians across the river under cover of night brought supplies. These Canadian farmers were also subject to tribute to the Indians, who seized their supplies by theft or open violence. They appealed to Pontiac and about the only creditable act recorded of that perfidious chief was his agreement to make restitution to the robbed settlers. Pontiac gave them in payment for their purloined property promissory notes, written by his French clerk, on birch bark and signed with the mark of the chief and the figure of

an otter—the totem to which he belonged—all of which promises to pay, to the credit of the Indian promisor, were redeemed, and “therein this otter money was very much more valuable than the wildcat money issued many years later by the white successors of the redmen,” remarked Judge Thomas Cooley, in an address before the Michigan Historical Society.

Day after day passed with varying incidents of attack and repulse. The keen-eyed watchfulness of the Indians never for an instant abated; their vigils were tireless and ceaseless; woe to the soldier who ventured without the fort or even lifted his head above the palisade. Pontiac’s patience was sustained with the delusive idea that the French were only temporarily defeated and would soon rally to his assistance. He even dispatched messengers across the interior to the French commandant Neyon, at Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, requesting that French troops be sent without delay to his aid. Meanwhile Gladwyn had sent one of his schooners to Fort Niagara to hasten promised reinforcements from the British. Lieutenant Cuyler, of the Queen’s Rangers, had already (May 13) left Niagara with a convoy of seven boats, ninety-six men and quantities of supplies and ammunition. This little fleet coasted along the northern shore of Lake Erie until near the mouth of the Detroit River. The force attempted to land, when a band of Wyandot Indians suddenly burst from the woods, seized five of the boats and killed or captured sixty of the soldiers. Cuyler with the remaining men (36), many of whom were wounded, escaped in the other boats and crossed to Fort Sandusky, which they found had been taken

and burned by the Wyandots and the garrison slaughtered. Cuyler, wounded and weak, with his escaping companions slowly wended his way back to Niagara where he reported the result of his expedition to the commanding officer, Major Wilkins. At the same time the Wyandots, with the captured boats and prisoners, proceeded up the Detroit to Pontiac's quarters, in full sight of the fort's garrison, where the unfortunate captives of Cuyler's party were butchered, as the Pontiac Manuscript relates, with all the exquisite tortures known to infuriated and drink-crazed savages.

The news of the destruction of Cuyler's flotilla brought a disappointment to the inmates of the fort almost unbearable. Gladwyn's schooner, however, reached Fort Niagara and returned about July 1, laded with food, ammunition and reinforcements and the most welcome news of the Treaty of Paris. Pontiac, undismayed, continued his efforts. His forces now numbered, according to the manuscript, some eight hundred and fifty warriors; two hundred and fifty Ottawas; four hundred Ojibways; and one hundred and fifty Pottawattomies; and fifty Wyandots. As the warriors brought their squaws and children with them, there must have been congregated in the fields and meadows about Detroit a seething populace of three to four thousand savages. That this estimate is not improbable, we may infer, from the figures given about this time (1763) in a census made out by Sir William Johnson. He enumerated the men—fighting force—in the vicinity of Detroit, St. Joseph and Michilimackinac, in what he calls the "Ottawa Confederacy," as, Wyandots, two hundred and fifty; Pottawattomies,

three hundred and fifty; Ottawas, seven hundred; Chippewas (Ojibways), seven hundred and twenty; Sacs, Foxes, etc., one thousand, two hundred, total, three thousand, seven hundred and twenty. To this may be added eight hundred Miamis or Twightwees on the Ohio-Miami Rivers; two hundred Wyandots on the Sandusky; three hundred Shawnees on the Scioto; and six hundred Delawares on the Muskingum and its branches, or one thousand, nine hundred warriors, at least, in the Ohio country proper. All these were practically under the jurisdiction of Pontiac. This census does not take notice of the Indian population east or south of the Ohio, nor of Canada, in which there were four thousand warriors of the Ottawa tribe alone, nor of the remote northwest.

The two schooners at anchor in the adjacent river were a serious menace to the movements of the Indians, and many desperate attempts were made to burn them by midnight attacks, and the floating of fire rafts down upon them but all to no avail. Pontiac had the stubborn persistence of a later American general who said he would fight it out on that line if it took all summer. He exerted himself with fresh zeal to gain possession of the fort. He demanded the surrender of Gladwyn, saying a still greater force of Indians was on the march to swell the army of besiegers. Gladwyn was equally tenacious and unyielding, he proposed to "hold the fort" till the enemy were worn out or reënforcements arrived. Pontiac sought to arouse the active aid of the neighboring Canadians, but the Treaty of Paris had made them British subjects, and they dared not war on their conquerors. History

scarcely furnishes a like instance of so large an Indian force struggling so long in an attack on a fortified place.

The Wyandots and Pottawattomies, however, never as enthusiastic in this war as the other tribes, late in July decided to withdraw from the besieging confederacy and make peace with the British. They did so and exchanged prisoners with Gladwyn. The Ottawas and Ojibways, however, still held on, watching the fort and keeping up a desultory fusillade. The end was drawing nigh. On July 29, Captain James Dalzell—also written Dalyell—arrived from Niagara with artillery supplies and two hundred and eight men in twenty-two barges. Their approach to the fort was bravely contested by the combined Indian forces, even the Wyandots and Pottawattomies breaking their treaty and treacherously joining in the assault. Dalzell's troop made successful entry into the fort, immediately after which he proposed a sortie upon the besieging enemy.

Dalzell was bravery personified, and he had fought with Israel Putnam in the Rogers' Rangers. On the morning after Dalzell's arrival (July 31), at two o'clock, he led a force of two hundred and fifty men out of the fort. They silently in the darkness marched along the river towards the Ottawa village just across the Parent's Creek. The Indians were prepared, having ambuscaded on both sides of the road. They were, Indian fashion, secreted behind trees, fences and Canadian houses. Their presence was not discovered until the van of Dalzell's column reached the bridge spanning the creek when a terrible fire was opened upon the soldiers from all sides. It was still dark, the Indians could not be seen. The usual panic ensued. The



troops in disorder retreated amid an awful slaughter. Dalzell himself was killed and Major Rogers assumed command, and the fleeing soldiers were only spared from total destruction by two of the British boats coming to the rescue. About sixty men were killed or wounded. It was known as the Battle of Bloody Bridge. Upon the retreating into the fort of Major Rogers' survivors the siege was renewed.

Pontiac was greatly encouraged over this victory and his Indians displayed renewed zeal. The Schooner "Gladwyn" was sent to Niagara for help. On its return it was attacked and its crew and supplies practically destroyed. Another relief expedition under Major Wilkins in September was overwhelmed in a lake storm and seventy soldiers drowned. But even Indian doggedness began to wane. The realization that the French were beaten and time only would bring complete domination to the British, led all the tribes except the Ottawas, to sue for peace. This was October 12th. Pontiac could hold only his own tribe in line. The Ottawas continued their hostility until October 30th when a French messenger arrived from Neyon who reported to Pontiac that he must expect no help from the French as they were now completely and permanently at peace with the British. Pontiac was advised to quit the war at once. His cause seemed hopeless, but true to his Indian nature he determined to assume a mask of peace and bide his time. Gladwyn wrote as follows to General Amherst: "This moment I received a message from Pontiac telling me that he should send to all the nations concerned in the war

to bury the hatchet; and he hopes your excellency will forget what has passed."

The great chief who had so valiantly and unremittingly fought for six months sullenly raised the siege and retired into the country of the Maumee where he vainly endeavored to arouse the Miamis and neighboring Ohio tribes to another war upon the invading British.

Though the memorable siege of Detroit, personally conducted by Pontiac, ended in failure to the great chief, his conspiracy elsewhere met with unparalleled success. The British posts, planned to be simultaneously attacked and destroyed by the savages were some dozen in number, including besides Detroit, the ones at St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, Ouiatenon, Sandusky, Miami, Presque Isle, Niagara, Le Boeuf, Venango, Fort Pitt and one or two others of lesser importance. Of all the posts from Niagara and Pitt westward, Detroit alone was able to survive the conspiracy. For the rest "there was but one unvaried tale of calamity and ruin." It was a continued series of disasters to the white men and the victories of the savages marked a course of blood from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi.

We have already announced the destruction of Fort Sandusky but this post, the successor of the first stockade erected by white men in Ohio, and the first of the forts to fall beneath the blows of Pontiac's forces, deserves more than a passing notice. This fort moreover, commanded the strategic point in northern Ohio, as it swept the entrance to the Sandusky River with the latter's portage connections with the Scioto, the



"short line," so to speak, from Lake Erie to the Ohio. It also guarded the connecting link in the water-route between the Ohio country and Detroit and the Northwest.

In a preceding chapter has been recounted the erection (1745) of the palisaded post by English traders in the village of Nicolas, on the south shore of the peninsula separating Sandusky Bay from Lake Erie, across the neck of which peninsula was the portage travelled by the canoe-voyagers from the Ohio country to Detroit. In 1748 this stockade post, as we saw, was destroyed by Chief Nicolas, previous to his flight to the south. De Celoron, while commandant at Detroit seems to have occupied, perhaps partially rebuilt this stockade, for Christopher Gist in his journey into Ohio in 1750 reports, when at the Muskingum village, "two traders belonging to Mr. Croghan came into town and informed us that two of his people had been taken by forty Frenchmen and twenty Indians, who carried them with seven horse loads of skins to the new post the French are building on one of the branches of Lake Erie." This "new post" was without doubt Fort "Sandoski."

Fort Sandusky—Otsandoské—as de Lery in his journal states, was evacuated after 1751 and before 1754, at which later date the French built Fort Junundat on the south shore of Sandusky Bay. On his return—from Detroit—in March, 1755, de Lery in speaking of the portage point—on the south side of the peninsula—where the old fort had been located, alludes to it "as the portage of the village of Ainoton," and again as "the portage of the village of Aniauton, the

said village whereof only three cabins and some palisades remain." This is important as giving confirmatory testimony as to the site of the old Sandusky fort. Fort Junundat shortly after the capture of Fort Duquesne (1758) was destroyed by the British. So that when Major Rogers reached Lake Sandusky on his fort receiving trip (1760) there was no Fort Sandusky for him to accept. But the British realized the necessity of fortifying so important a point, and Captain Campbell, whom Rogers left in charge of Detroit, wrote Bouquet (Dec. 11, 1760) "a small post at Sandusky would be useful for communication with Pittsburg." In the fall of the succeeding year (1761) Lieutenant Meyer, obeying orders from General Amherst, "fixed on a good spot for a blockhouse," three miles from a village called by the Indians Canontout, where all the traders unload and load their goods for Detroit; it is almost in the middle of little Lake Sandusky." This Canontout of Lieutenant Meyer was the "Aniauton" of de Lery. And here—three miles from Canontout—the blockhouse and palisades were finished in the autumn of 1761. It was this Fort Sandusky, not yet completed when he there arrived, of which Ensign J. C. Pauli took command with a garrison of fifteen men.

In the spring of 1762 Pauli, spelled Paully by many writers, wrote Bouquet that the Indians about the blockhouse were discontented and asked what he should do if they became insolent. In May he reported the "Iroquois are very quiet." A year later a more dreadful quiet prevailed. Under date of May 28, (1763) the Pontiac Manuscript reports "about five o'clock p.

m. there were seen in the woods behind the fort [Detroit] a large number of Indians, who came along the lake and ascended to go to the camp with scalps, uttering death cries, to the number of twenty, mixed with cries of joy for making known that they came from fighting some where. It was the remainder of those who had taken Fort Sandusky." This "taking" had occurred twenty days earlier when the Wyandots surrounded the fort and under pretense of a friendly visit, several of them well known to Ensign Pauli, the commander, were admitted. While smoking the pipe of peace the treacherous and trusted Indians suddenly arose, seized Pauli and held him prisoner while their tribesmen killed the sentry, entered the fort, and in cold blood murdered and scalped the little band of soldiers. The traders in the post were likewise killed and their stores plundered. The stockade was fired and burned to the ground. Pauli was conveyed to Pontiac's quarters, bound hand and foot. He was made the subject of grotesque torment by the squaws and Indian children and he expected to be burned alive, when an old widow squaw, "chose to adopt him in place of her deceased warrior." He was plunged into the river that the white blood might be washed from his veins; conducted to the lodge of the widow and treated henceforth with all the considerations due to an Ottawa warrior. In due time the involuntary husband escaped from the affectionate toils of his savage spouse and took refuge in the Detroit fort.

St. Joseph post, located at the mouth of the River St. Joseph, near the southern end of Lake Michigan was in command of Ensign Schlosser with a mere

handful of soldiers, fourteen in number. On the morning of May 25th, the commander was informed that a large party of Pottawattomies had arrived from Detroit "to visit their relations" and the chief—Washashe—and three or four of his followers wished to hold a "friendly talk" with the commander. Disarmed of suspicion, the commander, Schlosser, admitted the callers; the result is the oft repeated history. The entering Indians rushed to the gate, tomahawked the sentinel, let in their associates who instantly pounced upon the garrison, killed eleven of the soldiers, plundered the fort and later carried Schlosser and his three surviving captives to their quarters near Detroit.

Fort Michilimackinac was the most important point on the upper lakes, commanding as it did the straits of Mackinac, the passage from Lake Huron into Lake Michigan. Great numbers of the Chippewas, in the last of May, began to assemble in the vicinity of the fort, but with every indication of friendliness. June fourth, was the king's (George) birthday. It must be celebrated with pastimes. The discipline of the garrison, some thirty-five in number, was relaxed. Many squaws were admitted as visitors into the fort, while their braves engaged in their favorite game of ball just outside the garrison entrance. It was a spirited contest between the Ojibways and Sacs. Captain George Etherington, commander of the fort and his Lieutenant, Leslie, stood without the palisades to watch the sport. Suddenly the ball was thrown near the open gate and behind the two officers. The Indians pretending to rush for the ball instantly encircled and seized Etherington and Leslie, and crowded their way,

into the fort where the squaws supplied them with tomahawks and hatchets, which they had carried in, hidden under their blankets. Quick as a flash, the instruments of death were gleaming in the sunlight and Lieutenant Jamlet and fifteen soldiers and a trader were struck down never to rise. The rest of the garrison were made prisoners and five of them afterwards tomahawked. All of the peaceful traders were plundered and carried off. The prisoners were conveyed to Montreal. The French population of the post was undisturbed. Captain Etherington succeeded in sending timely warning to the little garrison at La Bay (Green Bay); Lieutenant Gorrell the commandant and his men were brought prisoners to the Michilimackinac Fort and thence sent with Etherington and Leslie to the Canadian capital. The little post of Ste. Marie (Sault) had been partially destroyed and abandoned. The garrison inmates had withdrawn to Michilimackinac and shared its fate.

The garrison at Ouatanon—or Ouatanon—situated on the Wabash—(Ouabache)—near the present location of Lafayette (Indiana) then in the very heart of the western forest, as planned, was to have been massacred on June 1st. Through the information given by the French at the post, the soldiers were apprised of their intended fate and through the intervention of the same French friends, the Indians were dissuaded from executing their sanguinary purpose. Lieutenant Jenkins and several of his men were made prisoners by stratagem, the remainder of the British garrison readily surrendered.

On the present site of Fort Wayne, (Indiana) was Fort Miami, built in 1759 by the French commandant Raimond, at the confluence of the rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary, which unite to form the Maumee. The fort at this time was in charge of Ensign Holmes. On May 27th, the commander was decoyed from the fort by the story of an Indian girl, that a squaw lay dangerously ill in a wigwam near the stockade, and needed medical assistance. The humane Holmes forgetting his caution on an errand of mercy, walked without the gate and was instantly shot dead. The soldiers in the palisades, seeing the corpse of their leader and hearing the yells and whooping of the exultant Indians, offered no resistance, admitted the redmen and gladly surrendered on promise of having their lives spared.

Fort Presque Isle, on the southern shore of Lake Erie at the site of the present town of Erie, contained a block house, unusually strong and commodious, in command of Ensign Christie with a courageous band of twenty-seven men. Christie learning of the attack on the other posts "braced up" for his "visit from the hell hounds" as he appropriately called the enemy. He had not long to wait. On June 15th, about two hundred of them put in an appearance from Detroit. They sprang into the ditch around the fort and with reckless audacity approached to the very walls and threw fire-balls of pitch upon the roof and sides of the fortress. Again and again the wooden structure was on fire, but amid showers of bullets and arrows the flames were extinguished by the fearless soldiers. The savages rolled logs before the fort and erected



strong breast-works from behind which they could discharge their shots and throw their fire-balls. For nearly three days a terrific contest ensued. The savages finally undermined the palisades and worked their way to the house of Christie, which was at once set on fire nearly stifling the garrison with the smoke. Longer resistance was vain, "the soldiers pale and haggard, like men who had passed through a fiery furnace, now issued from their scorched and bullet-pierced stronghold." The surrendering soldiers were taken to Pontiac's quarters on the Detroit River.

Three days after the attack on Presque Isle, Fort Le Boeuf, twelve miles south on Le Boeuf Creek, one of the head sources of the Allegheny River, was surrounded and burned. Ensign Price and a garrison of thirteen men miraculously escaped the flames and the encircling savages and endeavored to reach Fort Pitt. About half of them succeeded, the remainder died of hunger and privation by the way. Fort Venango, still farther south, on the Allegheny River, was captured by a band of Senecas, who gained entrance by resorting to the oft employed treachery of pretending friendliness. The entire garrison was butchered, Lieutenant Gordon, the commander, slowly tortured to death and the fort burned to the ground. Not a soul escaped to tell the horrible tale. Fort Ligonier, another small post, commanded by Lieutenant Archibald Blane, forty miles southeast of Fort Pitt, was attacked but successfully held out till relieved by Bouquet's expedition.

Thus within a period of about a month from the time the first blow was struck at Detroit, Pontiac

was in full possession of nine out of the twelve posts so recently belonging to, and it was thought, securely occupied by the British. Over two hundred traders with their servants fell victims to his remorseless march of slaughter and rapine and goods estimated at over half a million dollars became the spoils of the confederated tribes.

The rest of Pontiac's widespread and successful uprising struck untold terror to the settlers along the western frontier of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The savages roused to the highest pitch of fury and weltering in the blood of their victims were burning the cabins and crops of the defenseless whites and massacring the men, women and children. Many hundreds of the forest dwellers with their families flocked to the stockades and protected posts. Particularly in the Pennsylvania country did dread and consternation prevail. The frontiersmen west of the Alleghanies fled east over the mountains to Carlisle, Lancaster and numbers even continued their flight to Philadelphia. Pontiac was making good his fearful threat that he would exterminate the whites west of the Alleghanies and drive the pale faces back even to the sea.

But Forts Niagara and Pitt were still in the possession of the "red coats" as the British soldiers were often called by the forest "redskins." Following the total destruction of Le Boeuf and Venango, the Senecas made an attack on Fort Niagara, on the east side of Niagara River near its mouth as it empties into Lake Ontario. This fort, as we have noted, guarded the access to the whole interior country by way of Canada



and the St. Lawrence. The fort was strongly built and fortified and was far from the center of the country of the warpath Indians, for with the exception of the Senecas, the Iroquois tribes inhabiting eastern Canada and New York did not participate in Pontiac's conspiracy. The attack on Fort Niagara therefore was half-hearted and after a feeble effort the besiegers despaired of success or assistance and abandoned the blockade, which only lasted a few days.

Fort Pitt had become the British military headquarters of the western frontier. It was the Gibraltar of defense, protecting the eastern colonies from invasion by the western Indians. The consummation of Pontiac's gigantic scheme depended upon the capture of Fort Pitt. It was a strong fortification, its northern brick-faced ramparts looking down the Ohio. Fort Pitt stood "far aloof in the forest and one night journey eastward full two hundred miles before the English settlements began to thicken." The garrison consisted of three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders, and backwoodsmen, besides about one hundred women and a greater number of children. Captain Simeon Ecuyer, a brave Swiss officer, was in command. Every preparation was made for the expected attack. All houses and cabins outside the palisade were leveled to the ground. A rude fire engine was constructed to extinguish any flames that might be kindled by the burning arrows of the Indians. In the latter part of May the hostile savages began to approach the vicinity of the fort. On June 22, they opened fire "upon every side at once." The garrison replied by a discharge of howitzers, the shells of which bursting

in the midst of the Indians, greatly amazed and disconcerted them. The Indians then boldly demanded a surrender of the fort, saying vast numbers of braves were on the way to destroy it. Ecuyer displayed equal bravery and replied that several thousand British soldiers were on the way to punish the tribes for their uprising. The fort was now in a state of siege. For about a month, "nothing occurred except a series of petty and futile attacks," in which the Indians, mostly Ottawas, Ojibways and Delawares did small damage. On July 26th, under a flag of truce, the besiegers again demanded surrender. It was refused and Ecuyer told the savages that if they again showed themselves near the fort he would throw "bombshells" amongst them and "blow them to atoms." The assault was continued with renewed fury.

Meanwhile Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, awakening to the gravity of the situation, ordered Colonel Bouquet to take command of certain specified forces and proceed as rapidly as possible to the relief of Fort Pitt, and then make aggressive warfare on the western tribes. Bouquet leaving his headquarters at Philadelphia, reached Carlisle late in June, where he heard for the first time of the calamities at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. He left Carlisle with a force of five hundred men, some of them the pick of the British regulars, including some of the 42d Highlanders in bare legs, kilts and plaids; but many of the soldiers were veterans enfeebled by disease and long, severe exposure. Bouquet had seen considerable service in Indian warfare. He was not likely to be caught napping. He marched slowly along

the Cumberland Valley and crept cautiously over the mountains, passing Forts Loudoun, and Bedford, the latter surrounded with Indians, to Fort Ligonier which as noted above, had been blockaded for weeks by the savages who, as at Bedford, fled at Bouquet's approach. On August 5th, the little army, foot sore and tired and half famished, reached a small stream within twenty-five miles of Fort Pitt, known as Bushy Run. Here in the afternoon they were suddenly and fiercely fired upon by a superior number of Indians. A terrific contest ensued, only ended by the darkness of night. The encounter was resumed the next day; the odds were against the British who were surrounded and were being cut down in great numbers by the Indians skulking behind trees and logs and in the grass and declivities. Bouquet resorted to a ruse which was signally successful. He formed his men in a wide-spread, thicket-concealed, semi-circle, and from the concave center advanced a company toward the enemy, the charging company then made a feint of retreat, the deceived Indians followed close after and fell into the ambushade. The outwitted savages thus completely encircled were routed and fled in hopeless confusion. Bouquet had won one of the greatest victories in western Indian warfare. His loss was about one hundred and fifty men, nearly a third of his army. The loss of the Indians was not so great. This battle of Bushy Run was one of the notably picturesque events of Indian-American history. A little volume descriptive of the scene published shortly after its occurrence contained illustrations by the first American painter, Benjamin West. As rapidly as possible Bou-

quet pushed on to Fort Pitt which he entered without molestation on the 25th of August. The extent and the end of Pontiac's conspiracy had at last been reached. The Pennsylvania Assembly and King George, even, formally thanked Bouquet.

Forts Detroit and Pitt, as has been seen, proved impregnable, neither the evil cunning nor the persistent bravery of the savage could dislodge the occupants of those important posts. The siege of Detroit had been abandoned by the combined forces of Pontiac but the country round about continued to be infested with the hostile Indians, who kept up a sort of petty bushwhacking campaign that compelled the soldiers and traders of the fort, for safety, to remain "in doors" during the winter of 1763-4. Bouquet on gaining Fort Pitt, desired to pursue the marauding and murderous savages to their forest retreats and drive them hence, but he was unable to accomplish anything until the following year.

CHAPTER XVII.

BRADSTREET'S EXPEDITION



**T**HROUGH the failure of Pontiac's conspiracy the tribesmen of the Ohio Valley, hostile to the English, were subdued but not conquered. They continued to hope and to plot for the destruction of the white invader. The restless enmity of the redmen at this time is evidenced by the message of Sir William Johnson (May 11, 1764) to the Lords of Trade, London, wherein he says: "By late accounts from Detroit it appears that the western nations are again meditating a Rupture; they have not as yet recommenced hostilities, but from some discoveries lately made, Pontiac with his adherents are making preparations. I hope the firmness of the Friend[ly] Indians and their accompanying the troops will give it a timely check; if so, the Indians can be best employed against those on and about the Sciota, as the troops will have a great part of the campaign occupied in rebuilding and repossessing the posts."

It was in the early spring of this year (1764) that General Thomas Gage, who had recently (1763) succeeded Jeffrey Amherst as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, resolved to march two armies, each from a different point in the East, into the heart of the western Indian country. One expedition was to be under direction of Colonel John Bradstreet and was to pass up the lakes as far as the region beyond Detroit, stopping at the intervening points, and forcing the tribes to unconditional submission. The other expedition was to be led by Colonel Henry Bouquet into the midst of the Delaware and Shawnee settlements of Ohio.

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John Bradstreet, a professional and life-long soldier, was one, Parkman says, "whose exploits had gained for him a reputation beyond his merits." Certainly he had seen conspicuous service. He was with Pepperell's regiment in the Louisberg expedition of 1745; in the Oswego campaign of ten years later; made lieutenant-colonel of a Royal American Regiment in 1757 and served under Abercrombie against Ticonderoga; led the successful capture of Fort Frontenac and was with Amherst in his Crown Point expedition. He was well skilled in military tactics, sufficiently energetic and gallant but self-willed, vain, eager for notoriety and seemed totally unable to appreciate or to learn the treacherous and cunning nature of the Indians.

According to the directions of General Thomas Gage, the forces to accompany Bradstreet assembled at Albany in the spring of 1764. Among Bradstreet's subordinates were several officers who will attract special attention as the expedition proceeds, two of whom must be mentioned at the outset. One is none other than Colonel Israel Putnam, already distinguished for original characteristics, and for courageous military service, and for whom greater fame was in store. In the records of Colonial Connecticut for March, 1764, is the entry: "this assembly doth appoint Israel Putnam, Esq., to be major of the forces now ordered to be raised in this colony for his Majesty's service against the Indian nations who have been guilty of perfidious and cruel massacres of the English." Putnam had already won his spurs in the French and Indian War, having taken part under Sir William John-



son, in the expedition against Crown Point and in the battle of Lake George. He then became a member of the dare-devil Rangers under Robert Rogers, for whom he did special scout service with the rank of captain, in the Ticonderoga campaign. Few of his associate officers encountered such perilous and hair-breadth experiences as the hero of the wolf story, all of which deeds are delightfully recited in the "Life of Israel Putnam" by Edward Ferrand Livingston.

In the movements about Fort Edward in the summer of 1758, Putnam, then a major in Rogers' "ranging" regiment, was, with a portion of his command, entrapped into an Indian ambushade and made a captive by a large and powerful Gaughnawaga chief, who, with whoops and yells, brandished a tomahawk over his victim's head and compelled the dauntless major to surrender. Putnam's subsequent adventures are with graphic details told in Humphrey's quaint biography. After being tied to a tree, tortured and threatened with death by slow fire, Putnam was rescued by a French officer and borne to Canada where he was kept a prisoner for some time, till exchanged. He was ever "on the firing line" while the war continued. The assemblymen of Connecticut naturally chose one so seasoned, in Indian warfare, to command their contingent in Bradstreet's army. Putnam was then in his forty-sixth year, resourceful, unflinching in the face of duty, and versed in scouting, engineering and all phases of backwoods warfare. He reported at Albany as lieutenant-colonel of a battalion of five companies, Connecticut provincials.

The one assigned as the advance road-clearer and defense-builder was Colonel James Montresor, an engineer of unusual acquirements having seen important service in European warfare. He had been ordered to America as ensign and engineer under Braddock and helped to prepare the way followed by that unfortunate hero to his defeat at Monongahela, in which battle Montresor himself was wounded. He served in the events of the French and Indian War, was present at the capitulation of Quebec and having, among others, the talent of an artist, painted the portrait of General Wolfe, since regarded as the standard picture of that sad-fated but fame-endowed soldier. Montresor in the discharge of every assigned duty kept most exhaustive and exact notes, the printed copies of which fill a large volume in the collections of the New York Historical Society. From this journal of Bradstreet's expedition we secure much information not elsewhere published and are enabled to correct many errors found in the standard accounts of Bradstreet's movement in his Ohio campaign. Parkman seems not to have seen this journal, as he never mentions it or its author. He also fails to mention the fact that Israel Putnam accompanied the expedition. We shall speak of other conspicuous personages under Bradstreet as his army advances.

In June (1764) the forces under Bradstreet, assembled at Albany, consisting at the start of some twelve hundred provincial troops and three hundred Canadians, augmented later as we shall see. They proceeded up the Mohawk, crossed the Oneida Lake and descended the Onondaga to Oswego on Lake Ontario. After a

passage of several days, amid severe storms, and "tumbling waters," the transporting convoys reached Fort Niagara, mouth of Niagara River, to which point several weeks previously, Montresor and a detachment, had advanced, with orders to fortify it "so as to keep up that communication," it being feared that the hostile Indians might take possession of this "carrying place." This fear was not without foundation for this "carrying place" or portage, comprised a distance of some fifteen miles from the Fort Niagara to Fort Schlosser, at the falls of Niagara, above which point the army was to reëmbark and proceed to Fort Erie, now Buffalo.

The country through which the Niagara River passed was the stronghold of the savage nations and here, if any where, Bradstreet would find his way closed. When the soldier-crowded ships of Bradstreet unloaded their troops beneath the ramparts of Fort Niagara a striking spectacle met their view, for "hundreds of Indian cabins were clustered along the skirts of the forest and a countless multitude of savages, in all the picturesque variety of their barbaric costumes, were roaming over the fields or lounging about the shores of the lake." They were there in response to the summons of Sir William Johnson, who the previous winter had dispatched Indian runners to the tribes, far and near, to gather at this time and place. Such a conclave of savages had seldom been seen in America. Menominies, Ottawas, Ojibways, Mississaugas, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Sacs, from the northwest; Osages, from beyond the Mississippi; Hurons and Wyandots from Detroit; Caughnawagas from Canada, together with

a host of Iroquois, the total being, as enumerated, each tribe in number, by Montresor, no less than seventeen hundred and twenty-five. The Delawares and Shawnees from the Ohio towns, were conspicuous for their absence; more than that, by couriers they sent an insolent message to the effect, "that though they had no fear of the English and though they regarded them as old women and held them in contempt, yet out of pity for their sufferings, they were willing to treat of peace."

The Senecas, at first, held aloof, indeed it was reported they had leagued themselves with the hostile and defiant Delawares and Shawnees. From the English at the council a message was sent to the Seneca Castle that if the Senecas did not appear at the council war would be made on them. They then appeared and agreed that they should not again war on the English and would annul their alliance with the Delawares, Shawnees and the Ottawa Confederacy.

Sir William Johnson and Bradstreet's officers held, during many days, innumerable conferences and councils with each tribe in turn. The council-room of the fort was crowded from morning till night with the expressionless, greasy-faced warriors, in their paint and feathers and blue and red blankets, fringed leggins and beaded moccasins. Wearisome formalities were enacted and reënacted; there were endless speeches and replies; the giving of wampum belts, the smoking of pipes, the dancing and feasting and by the English the profuse presentation of gifts and the ladling out of barrels and barrels of rum, under the influence of which the warriors were at times "too drunk to sign

the articles of peace." Montresor notes "the expense of provisions for the Indians only at the congress, Niagara, July, 1764, £250,000, New York currency and besides, the presents £38,000 Sterling." This totals nearly a million and a half dollars. But the Indians yielded all that was asked, among other things the permission of the English to the "re-establishment of Michilimackinac, also the liberty of building a post on the northwest side of the Niagara River, above the rapids at the mouth of Lake Erie belonging to the Jibbeways," reads Montresor's journal.

Sir William Johnson, having completed his task, returned to Oswego on his way to his palatial Johnson Hall, and wrote the Lords of Trade (August, 1764): "Pontiac is with some of the most obstinate as yet in the Miami country near the west end of Lake Erie, but he has sent to desire peace and I believe is only apprehensive for his security and that of those with him. The Shawnees and Delawares about the river [Scioto] are I apprehend greatly alarmed at the fidelity of the Indians in our interests; Col. Bouquet is preparing to go against them and the enterprise must be attended with many difficulties. I have just sent a party of Indians to accompany him."

John Johnson, son of Sir William by his wife Catherine, accompanied Bradstreet at the head of a band of three hundred Iroquois, Andrew Montour acting as guide and interpreter. The hordes of Indian councillors began to scatter for their distant countries and the vast encampment slowly melted away.

Bradstreet's army now resumed its progress. The soldiers advanced to Fort Schlosser, above the falls,

whither their boats had been wearisomely transferred, "craned up the rocks at Lewiston and dragged by oxen over the rough portage road." Departing from Fort Schlosser, Bradstreet's boats and bateaux pluckily pushed up the current of the Niagara and emerged into the expanding waters of Erie. A storm drove the flotilla ashore at Presque Isle, now the city of Erie.

While waiting for the wind and rain to cease and the rough waters to subside, Bradstreet was visited by ten Indians, who pretended to be sent by the Delawares and Shawnees, from the plains of the Scioto, to sue for peace. The Indian allies accompanying Bradstreet pronounced the claimant peace-makers spies, and demanded that they be killed. Bradstreet refused to resort to such severe measures; on the contrary, being easily mislead by the Indian subterfuge, he made a preliminary treaty with the presumptive ambassadors in which he agreed not to proceed, as intended, against the "Castles" of the Delawares and the Shawnees. The spurious delegates promised for their tribes that all white prisoners held by them should be delivered at Lower Sandusky within twenty-five days, that all claims to the posts of the English in the west should be abandoned, and leave given to erect as many forts and trading posts as should be necessary for the traders, with a grant of as much land around each post as "a cannon could throw a shot over." Stone, in his *Life of Sir William Johnson*, comments on this incident with the remark that the conduct of Bradstreet in this affair was inexcusable, and could only have been prompted by excessive vanity, for even had the deputies been duly accredited, Bradstreet's



instructions gave him no authority to conclude a peace.

While this picturesque farce was being enacted, as Montresor says, "at the Cove of Peace, on the south side of Lake Erie, August 12, 1764," the Delawares and Shawnees in their "Castles" on the banks of the Scioto and Plains of Sandusky were wriggling their war dance and whetting their scalping knives. Bradstreet added to the burlesqueness of his action by sending word to Bouquet, then at Fort Pitt, not to proceed on his expedition to Ohio, as he, Bradstreet, had already reduced the Delawares and Shawnees to submission by a treaty. Bouquet paid no attention to the Quixotic message.

The pseudo-peace performance at an end, Bradstreet's troops again embarked and set forth westward. Montresor, in his journal, gives a detailed statement of the force as it left the "Cove of Peace" as he styles Presque Isle. The total enrollment was two thousand two hundred eighty-nine, about twelve hundred of whom were the regular troops; near two hundred Canadians; one hundred boatmen, rangers, carpenters, etc., five hundred provincials from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut and three hundred Indians. Among the Indian contingent, at the head of one hundred of his warriors, was the Caughnawaga chief, who had once been Putnam's captor and since that time his friend. Thus war brought about its curious changes. The floating transports embraced two or three vessels, seventy-five whale, or long boats and numerous canoes and nondescript crafts. On August 18th, the flotilla reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga

or La Grand Riviere, which, Montresor remarks, "is a considerable river where the upper nations hunt and also paddle." He adds that by proceeding up this river six leagues and then going east, a march of six days will reach Fort Pitt. On the 21st the Vermillion River was reached. The entrance to Sandusky Bay, was the next camping station. At this point Bradstreet had been, by his original orders, directed to attack the Wyandots, Ottawas and Miamis living in the vicinity, but on the approach of the general, so complacent with his Indian compacts, the representatives of the tribes named, forestalled the "thorough chastisement" he was to here give them, by meeting him and "promising that if he would refrain from attacking them, they would follow him to Detroit and there conclude a treaty." Again Bradstreet accepted their wily pleas and without molesting the settlements that had been the centers of Pontiac's conspiracy, he proceeded on his way to Detroit, landing the sea-weary army of soldiers and savages at the mouth of the River Raisin for the night of August 26th. We have said "sea-weary army," for as Montresor notes on the day previous, "the water rose this night two feet perpendicular, and a hard gale blowing N. E. which obliged the whole to unload and haul all their boats from the surf."

The next day the sailing soldiers saw before them their destination, the stake palisades and wooden bastions of Fort Detroit; "on arrival near the fort we were saluted from thence and the vessels which (cannon salute) was returned from our guns," writes Montresor. Ringing cheers rose from the garrison



soldiers who crowded the picket ramparts and friendly Indians flocking to see the arrival of their new "fathers" shouted and whooped. The inmates of the beleaguered fort were immediately relieved, and fresh troops substituted in their place. Many were the friendly greetings of the occasion, none more so than that between Major Gladwyn and Colonel Israel Putnam, for they had served together at Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Pontiac was not one of the Ottawas to shout joy at Bradstreet's entry. His vengeance unslaked, his hostility unabated and his hope unbroken, he had betaken himself to the Maumee country of his nativity and from there hurled back haughty defiance at the English commander, who at once summoned a council of the Detroit tribes. The sittings began the fifth of September, in the open field before the fort. Montresor's journal for that day reads: "Sat this day the Indian council, Present, the Jibbeways, Shawanese, Hurons of Sandusky and the five nations of the Scioto, with all the several nations of friendly Indians accompanying the army. The Pottawattomies had not yet arrived, Pondiac declined appearing here until his pardon should be granted. \* \* \* \* This day Pondiac was forgiven in council, who is at present two days march above the Castle on the Miami River called la Roche de But, with a party of sixty or more savages." In addition to those mentioned by Montresor, there were present Sacs, Wyandots, Miamis and later the Pottawattomies. Wasson, chief of the Ojibways, was the prominent orator for the tribes and filled much time with his Indian grandiloquence, asking peace for the red men. This Bradstreet refused

unless the Indians agree to become "subjects" of the king of England and acknowledge that he held over their country a sovereignty as ample and complete as over any other portion of his dominion. "Nothing," pertinently remarks Parkman, "could be more impolitic or absurd than this demand." Without really comprehending Bradstreet's requirement or to what they were committing themselves, the assembled warriors promised thereafter to call the English king "father," the term they had formerly bestowed upon the king of France, while heretofore the English had been only "brothers." What real effect this shifting of title-relationship had upon the status of the "guileless children of the forest" it would be quite difficult to define.

Some twenty days, Bradstreet's bizarre battalions abided at Detroit, and while the commander was employed with Indian councils and conferences, the energetic engineer Montresor, as we learn from his interesting journal, was kept busy making designs and estimates, building new barracks in the fort for a garrison of four hundred men and a powder magazine, constructing wharves and piers for the better loading and unloading of vessels, repairing the boats, making scows and rafts for the handling of the stone and timber, surveying and marking channels in the river. His journal bristles with the accounts of the hustling activities of his wood-cutters and carpenters. Colonel Israel Putnam had charge of a corps of two hundred tree-fellers who were employed on the Isle au Cochon, cutting timber for the works of the fort. This Isle au Chochon, the field of Putnam's labor, is now the

beautiful park called Belle Isle. One item in Montresor's journal in connection with the commercial doings at Detroit deserves notice for he reports, "All current paper money made by the merchants and others (is) called in to prevent further impositions." It would seem that Pontiac's savage birch bark notes had a better standing. And now while these scenes of Indian diplomacy and military improvements are passing at Detroit, we digress to follow the fortunes of Captain Thomas Morris.

The embassy of Morris is one of the exciting side-features of Bradstreet's expedition. Although at this time, Morris had been in America only five years, he nevertheless had seen service in the late war and had become acquainted with Indian life, as Captain of the garrison at Fort Hendrick, Canajoharie, New York, the home of the famous Mohawk chiefs Hendrick and Brant. Morris was a military *litterateur*, who knew the classics, spoke French and wrote books of superior intellectual merit. In short, "Morris was a man of the great world, a fashionable dilettante, dabbling in literature and the dramatic art," for so speaks Thwaites, in his introduction to the reprint of the Journal, kept by Morris on the "Embassy" of which we are to briefly speak. We take our information solely from the Journal itself, which, with its narrative style, literary touches and delicate humor, is a refreshing contrast to most of the perfunctory diaries with which we have thus far dealt.

Under instructions from Bradstreet, Morris, as he himself relates, "set out in good spirits from Cedar Point (mouth of Maumee), Lake Erie, on the 26th

of August, 1764, about four o'clock in the afternoon, at the same time the army proceeded for Detroit. My escort consisted of Godefroi, and another Canadian, two servants, twelve Indians, our allies, and five Mohawks, with a boat in which were our provisions, who were to attend us to the swifts of the Miamis River, about ten leagues distant, and then return to the army." He had with him "likewise Warsong, the great Chippeway chief and Attawang an Uttawaw (Ottawa) chief." Godefroi was a French resident of Detroit, and an Indian interpreter. The party proceeded up the Maumee to the headquarters of Pontiac, whose "army consisting of six hundred savages, with tomahawks in their hands," surrounded Morris. Presently "came Pondiac and squatted himself after his fashion." "This Indian," says Morris, "has a more extensive power than ever was known among that people; for every chief had command of his own tribe; but eighteen nations, by French intrigues, had been taught to unite, and chose this man for their commander, after the English had conquered Canada; having been taught to believe that, aided by France, they might make a vigorous push and drive us out of North America." He then reports his conversation with the great chief, and the incidents of a council with the assembled Ottawas, at which gathering the "greater part of the Indians got drunk" and threatened to kill Morris, who escaped by concealing himself first under a mattress, and then in a corn field. After the Ottawas had sobered up, Pontiac permitted the Morris party to resume its journey to the Illinois, accompanied part of the way by Pontiac's nephew and two Ottawas.

They "arrived at a meadow near the Miami Fort," (now Fort Wayne), where another rabble of Indians "who had brought spears and tomahawks in order to dispatch" Morris, met the embassy. Morris remained in a canoe, by the river bank, in the background, complacently reading "the tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra," in a volume of Shakespeare, presented to Morris by an Indian chief, who had undoubtedly looted the masterpiece of English literature from some tomahawked pale-face. It is doubtful if the works of the Avon Bard were ever perused under circumstances more paradoxical. Meanwhile the escort of Morris pushed ahead and sought to appease the enmity of the Miamis. Then came trouble with and danger from the "Kiccapoos, Mascoutins, and Wiatanons," apparently vagrant bands, on the warpath for the white scalps. A party of Shawnees and Delawares were met, who were stirring up the Miamis to war on Bradstreet, while at the same time their deputies were signing peace articles with him at Detroit.

The journal of Morris is really a state paper, revealing the Indian situation in the interior while Bradstreet is being repeatedly deceived by the treacherous "delegates" he receives on the lake shore. Morris meets many chiefs and through his interpreter Godefroi, tells them the truth about the French defeat and English supremacy. For several days he is in a whirlpool of Indian hostility and duplicity, his life at stake every moment and naught but his coolness, courage and tact enable him to pass unscathed through the hostile villages and reach Detroit, on the 17th

of September. He expected to there report to Bradstreet, but the latter had already set out on his return and was at Sandusky.

Morris, too ill and exhausted from his journey to proceed further, forwarded his journal to Bradstreet, with an additional letter, in which he expresses in no sentimental way, his opinion of the noble redmen by saying, "I wish the chiefs were assembled on board the vessel and that she had a hole in her bottom. Treachery should be paid with treachery; and it is more than ordinary pleasure to deceive those who would deceive us." The brief mission of Morris, so delightfully reported, resulted merely in futility, save perhaps its value in producing a priceless contribution to the descriptive literature of the Indian warfare of that period.

Montresor's diary for September 13th reads, "Orders issued for the troops to decamp and embark to-morrow morning for Sandusky." The next day: "At 8 o'clock this morning the whole embarked; saluted by the guns from the fort and the three vessels. Returned by our guns. Our present number of boats, sixty of the long boats and one barge." Sufficient soldiers were left to garrison the fort, "and from the provincial troops thirty artificers for carrying on the work at Detroit." In five days the little fleet entered Sandusky Lake "and arrived in the afternoon where our Old Fort stood that the Indians burnt last year, a bad place for the boats." A good clay beach for an encampment was found, however, half a mile west of the spot, where sixteen months previous, Pontiac's co-conspirators had butchered the garrison and burned



the fort. It was at Sandusky that Bradstreet expected to meet the Delawares and Shawnees "in order to treat with us for peace, agreeable to their appointment." But the expected Shawnee and Delaware chiefs failed to appear. On the contrary an Ottawa chief, with twenty young warriors, arrived, who "upbraided the Shawnees and Delawares, for sending him a belt in the Spring (past) to continue the war against the English with the utmost vigor."

Bradstreet still expecting the Indians for a council, to arrive from up the river, according to Montresor, "embarked and proceeded and encamped one mile below the Rapids (of the Sandusky River) in order to meet them one day sooner and also be so much nearer to attack their villages on the Ohio should they fail to comply with any article alluded to in the Treaty of Peace." Here Montresor notes that the "left of our encampment is contiguous to the remains of an old fort where the Delawares and some of the western Indians took post to shelter themselves against the Iroquois near one hundred years ago." The earthen entrenchments of this old fort were still discernible, "constructed in the form of a circle three hundred yards in circumference."

These defensive remains of the old Iroquois war days were on the site of the present city of Fremont. They were the "remains" of the habitation of the Neutral Nation, alluded to by General Lewis Cass in his memorable address (1829)—heretofore mentioned—before the Michigan Historical Society. General Cass after speaking of the conquests of the Iroquois and the dispersion of the Wyandot nation then con-

tinues: "Upon the Sandusky River and near where the town of Lower Sandusky [Fremont] now stands, lived a band of the Wyandots, called the Neutral Nation. They occupied two villages, which were cities, of refuge, where those who sought safety never failed to find it. During the long and disastrous contests, which preceded and followed the arrival of the Europeans, and in which the Iroquois contended for victory, and their enemies for existence, this little band preserved the integrity of their territories and the sacred character of peace makers. More fortunate than the English monarch, who seated upon the shore of the ocean, commanded its waves to come no further, they stayed the troubled waters, which flowed around but not over them. All who met upon their threshold, met as friends, for the ground on which they stood was holy. It was a beautiful institution, a calm and peaceful island, looking out upon a world of waves and tempests."

General Cass, a diligent student of Indian lore and a trustworthy writer, in making the above interesting statement, in his address published (1834) in the "Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan," gives no authority but an anonymous annotator of the address states: "the Wyandot tradition represents them as having separated from the parent stock, during the bloody wars between their own tribe and the Iroquois, and having fled to the Sandusky River for safety."

It was on this historic ground that Bradstreet encamped. Some Indians arrived to "treat" with Bradstreet but no definite results were reached. On the



24th Bradstreet's forces returned down the river and encamped three quarters of a mile "above where the French Fort stood on the carrying-place between Lakes Sandusky and Erie." Here a working party "set to work immediately in clearing the ground to construct a fort on." Putnam's men began cutting trenches and felling timbers for the stockade, etc. Meanwhile the dilatory and fruitless parleyings with the Indians continued. Rumors of all sorts were brought to camp by the deputies of and stragglers from the various tribes. Rumors that the tribes west and south were uniting and preparing to move on Sandusky and attack Bradstreet; rumors that the leading tribes, thereabout were coming to secure peace. Bradstreet's Sandusky encampment was a scene of great Indian activity, negotiation, diplomacy, and more than all else, duplicity. Many great chiefs came and departed, among them Assarrigoo, chief of the Caughnawagas, Kilbuck of the Delawares, Manitou of the Ottawas, and Captain Thomas King of the Oneidas. Tribesmen from far and near frequented the quarters of the camp and pretended peace, while plotting war, deceived the whites and accused each other of the deception. It was a hot-bed of intrigue with which Bradstreet had neither the courage nor shrewdness to deal. General Gage sent peremptory orders to Bradstreet to proceed in an attack on the Indians upon the Scioto Plains and then march on and meet Bouquet who was on his way from Fort Pitt.

In addition to Montresor's journal, we have an interesting letter written October 7th, by Israel Putnam to Major Drake of Norwich, Connecticut, which letter

was printed in the *Boston Gazette* of December 24, 1764. In this letter, which thoroughly reveals Putnam as a spicy and veracious correspondent, the colonel at some length relates the doings of the commander of the expedition, the condition of his soldiers and the movements of the Indians during the delayed encampment of the vacillating and intimidated Bradstreet. Among other incidents, Putnam tells of the visit to their quarters of Captain Thomas King from the Oneida Castle and the mission of that chief to Pontiac in the cause of peace. Putnam says that King reported Pontiac as saying, "the English are so exhausted they can do no more and one year's war, well pushed, will drive them into the sea." The closing line of Putnam's frank letter is, "and here we are, and for what I know not, nor when we are to leave it." The desultory work of erecting a fort was discontinued before the defenses were completed. Bradstreet conjured up many excuses for not moving offensively on the Indians; indeed enraged at being censured by General Gage for his manner of making treaties, Bradstreet was in no mood to obey orders to attack the Indians on the Plains of the Scioto. Finally, declaring the season too late and the risks too great to carry out Gage's instructions and also that it was useless to proceed further in building the fort at Sandusky carrying-place, Bradstreet decided to set out for home with his army without delay. It was October 18th when Montresor says, "This morning at half-past eight o'clock the whole decamped and embarked for Niagara, consisting of fourteen hundred men besides one hundred and fifty Indians, fifty-nine long boats, one barge and nine birch canoes."

Later on the embarking force was joined by a detachment of one hundred and fifty Light Infantry under Major Daly, who had left Sandusky before the main army had gotten away. The fleet followed along the route it had come, hugging close to shore, the troops encamping nights at the mouth of some river. When three days out, in order to lighten the crowded and water-dipping boats a hundred of the Indians and a "strong detachment of the troops" were put ashore to march along by land. It was a two weeks' voyage. The lake was stormy and dangerous, and the boats were wrenched and damaged, and even destroyed, and many soldiers in them, including Colonel Putnam, nearly lost their lives. The troops on shore were poorly fed and tented and proceeded amid privations and hazards not unequal to the sea-faring portion of the expedition. On the 4th of November, seventeen days out of Sandusky, the main body of the little army arrived in safety at Niagara; and the whole reëmbarking on Lake Ontario proceeded towards Oswego. Albany was reached on the 19th and Bradstreet's expedition "against the western Indians" was a closed episode; a large undertaking with small success. Indeed it was not unsimilar to the famous campaign in which the "King of France with forty thousand men marched up the hill and then marched down again." Parkman sums up the results thus: "The Indians at Detroit had been brought to reason and for the present, at least, would probably remain tranquil; while the re-establishment of the posts on the Upper Lakes must necessarily have great effect upon the natives of that region. At Sandusky, on the other hand, the work

had been but half done. The tribes of that place felt no respect for the English; while those to the southward and westward had been left in a state of turbulence, which promised an abundant harvest of future mischief."

CHAPTER XVIII.  
BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION



### BOUQUET'S MAP

Map of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers country —presenting the territory and route by Bouquet in his Expedition in 1764. From a photograph of the old print which appeared with the original publication of the account written by William Smith and published in Philadelphia in 1765.

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Map of the Ohio and Mississippi river country—pre-  
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**W**HILE the half-land, half-lake transported army of Bradstreet was pursuing its course along northern Ohio to relieve Detroit and the lake posts, and to "chastise" the Ohio Indians, Bouquet with his armament was moving "across lots," so to speak, from Fort Pitt to the Shawnee towns. We have already met Bouquet and learned something of his straight forwardness, his intrepidity and his resourcefulness and sagacity in dealing with the Indians. In many respects his characteristics were in striking contrast to those of Bradstreet. The results of their respective expeditions into Ohio, were as equally at variance as the natures of the two commanders, and therefore much to the greater renown of the hero of the battle of Bushy Run, whose victory on that occasion had already given him a reputation for cunning, calmness and courage that forebode no gentle treatment of the hostile tribesmen.

For some twenty-eight years, since he was seventeen, Bouquet had been a professional soldier and a student of military science, serving as an officer of the Swiss Guards in the campaigns of the Dutch Republic and other continental countries. As already noted Bouquet was sent by the English government, in whose service he had entered, to the colonies, and became a colonel of the Royal American Regiment, in the French and Indian War.

He was chosen by General Gage to conduct this expedition which was to be contemporaneous and co-operative with that of Colonel Bradstreet. We shall follow the course of Bouquet's campaign, relying almost wholly upon the account written, it is now

unquestionably believed, by Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, from papers furnished immediately after the expedition, by Bouquet himself. This account, from the pen of Smith, was published at Philadelphia in 1765, and reprinted in London the following year.

Bradstreet's corps of troops was to proceed against the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas and other nations, living upon or near the lakes; while Bouquet's detachment was instructed to invade the interior and attack the Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes, Mohicans and other tribes between the Ohio and the lakes. We have witnessed the perils encountered by the soldiers of Bradstreet. Bouquet's expedition was attended with even greater difficulties and dangers because his soldiers were "to penetrate through a continual depth of woods, and a savage unexplored country; without roads, without posts and without a retreat, if he failed of success."

The rendezvous was Carlisle, Pennsylvania, one hundred and eighteen miles west of Philadelphia. Parts of the 42d and 60th regular regiments were designated for the expedition, to which two hundred friendly Indians were to be added but they were never in evidence. Trouble was also had in securing the provincial requisition. Upon his reaching Fort Pitt, a delegation of Ohio Indians met Bouquet, desiring a conference, in which they attempted the ruse, so successfully worked upon Bradstreet, to the effect that they, the tribesmen, wished peace and would submit to Bouquet's terms, release all prisoners, "bury the hatchet" and acknowledge English supremacy, if Bouquet would desist from further hostile advances.

The undeceived colonel boldly told the Delawares and Shawnees, he could not depend upon their promises. He was determined to move on to the Muskingum, "where, if they had anything to say, he would hear them." Indeed Bouquet was no more easily beguiled by Indian attempts at deception than he had been misled by the silly dispatches, already received, from Bradstreet, that Bouquet might abandon his campaign and return home with his troops as he (Bradstreet) had concluded a treaty with these same tribes.

On the 2d of October, Bouquet was ready to depart from Fort Pitt, with about fifteen hundred men, regulars and provincials from Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Virginia volunteers, hardy, fearless fighters and seasoned backwoodsmen, led the advance. Every precaution was taken to guard against surprise and ambuscade. Following the scouts and road-makers, the troops marched in separated, parallel columns, forming a sort of elongated hollow square. A party of light horsemen marched behind the rear-face of the square, followed by a corps of Virginia volunteers. Within the lines forming this square were the baggage wagons and live stock, the droves of oxen and sheep, for thus the meat substance for the expedition had to be provided and transported. The march was slow and tedious, averaging between eight and nine miles a day, encampments being made each night.

Accompanying Smith's account of the expedition is a map by Thomas Hutchins, the official engineer, of the country on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers, with a "survey of the Indian country through which Colonel Bouquet marched" in this campaign. The

first edition of this map bears date of 1763, and is one of the earliest standard maps of the Ohio country.

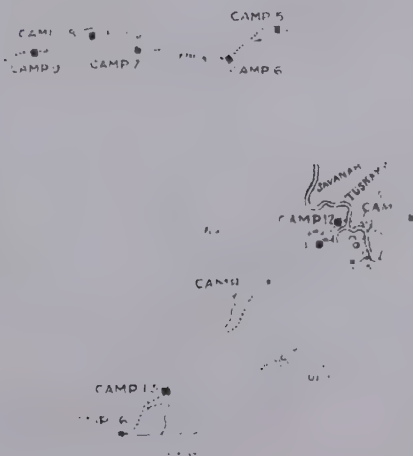
Bouquet's route lay along the north bank of the Ohio through "Logs Town" to Old Town, mouth of Big Beaver Creek. Thence the march was west, across Little Beaver and Yellow Creek streams. At one point, reads the Account, "in the forks of the path stand several trees painted by the Indians, in a hieroglyphic manner, denoting the number of wars in which they have been engaged, and the particulars of their success in prisoners and scalps." The twelfth encampment was made near Beaver Town on the headwaters of the Muskingum, near the Tuscarawas, "a place exceedingly beautiful by situation; from the ruined houses appearing here, the Indians who inhabited the place and are now with the Delawares, are supposed to have had about one hundred and fifty warriors. Here Bouquet received word that the "headmen of the Delawares and Shawnees were coming as soon as possible to treat of peace with him." The line of advance was now southwest along the west bank of the Muskingum. At camp No. 13, "situated on a very high bank, with the river at the foot of it," the colonel was informed that "several large bodies of Indians with their chiefs were approaching for a conference." The colonel had "returned for answer that he would meet them next day in a bower at some distance from the camp."

This meeting was duly held. The colonel, with most of the regular troops, Virginia Volunteers and light horse, marched from the camp to the bower erected for the congress. It was a scene of mingled military splendor and Indian life and warfare, sur-

## BOUQUET'S ROUTE

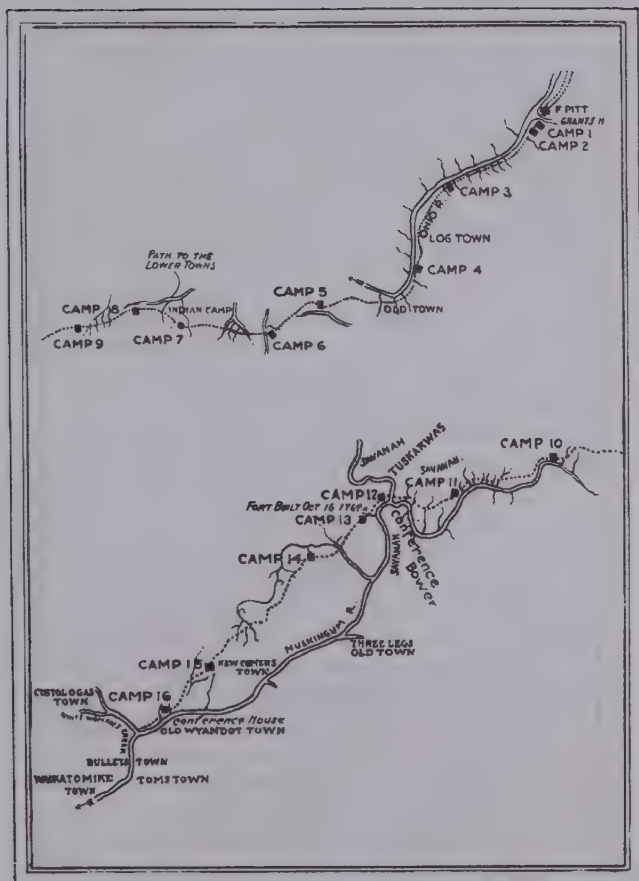
Route followed by the Bouquet Expedition from Fort Pitt to Old Wyandot Town, showing location of the sixteen camps. This was the first expedition of importance into the Ohio interior and was made by Bouquet in 1764.

Drawing from an old print which appeared with the original publication of the account of the expedition by William Smith and published in 1765.



This meeting was duly held. The colonel, with most of the regular troops, Virginia Volunteers and fifty horse, marched from the camp to the house erected for the congress. It was a scene of military splendor and Indian life and warfare.







passing anything previously witnessed in the wilds of the Ohio country. Parkman has pictured the event in such vivid lines that we can do no better than borrow his portrayal; "here the principal officers assumed their seats under the canopy of branches, while the glittering array of the troops was drawn out on the meadow in front, in such a manner as to produce the most imposing effect on the minds of the Indians, in whose eyes the sight of fifteen hundred men under arms was a spectacle equally new and astounding. The perfect order and silence of the far-extending lines; the ridges of bayonets flashing in the sun; the fluttering tartans of the Highland regulars; the bright red uniform of the Royal Americans; the darker garb and duller trappings of the Pennsylvania troops; and the bands of Virginia backwoodsmen, who, in fringed hunting frocks and Indian moccasins, stood leaning carelessly on their rifles,—all these combined to form a scene of military pomp and power not soon to be forgotten."

The Indians arrived with the usual ceremony. There were present, the Seneca chief Kiasutha—alias Guyasutha—with fifteen warriors; Keissinautchtha, the Shawnee chief with six warriors; the Delawares had sent Custaloga, chief of the Wolf tribe, and Beaver, chief of the Turkey tribe, with twenty warriors. The stately warriors with their retinues and followers presented a setting half grotesque, half picturesque to this forest-framed spectacle. "As they approached," continues Parkman, "painted and plumed in all their savage pomp, they looked neither to the right nor to the left, not deigning, under the eyes of their enemy, to cast even a glance at the military display around

them. They seated themselves, with stern, impassive looks, and an air of sullen dignity; while their sombre brows betrayed the hatred still rankling in their hearts." The chiefs were most humble and submissive in their speeches. Awed and subdued by the situation, they sued for peace in the most abject manner, promising severally to deliver up all their prisoners.

Three days later Colonel Bouquet gave his answer. It was bold, terse and uncompromising, not even couched in the exaggerated metaphors and redundant rhetoric of Indian speech. He told them of their treachery in dealing with Bradstreet, of their perfidy and inhuman massacres in their attacks on the English forts, after the close of the French and Indian War; of the futility of their continuing the warfare and concluded by giving them thirteen days to deliver into his hands at Wakatamake all the prisoners in their possession, "without any exception."

Bouquet's fearless and unequivocal harangue amazed and awed the savage auditors. They knew he was as good as his word. Moreover, without waiting for any parleying or delays, Bouquet determined to march further into the enemy's country, "knowing the presence of his army would be the best security for the performance of their promises." He insisted that the Indian deputies attend him. He then advanced some thirty-two miles, to his 16th camp, "situated within a mile of the Forks of the Muskingum," where the White Woman's Creek entered the former. A village known as Old Wyandot Town was here on the Muskingum. Two or three miles up White Woman's Creek was Custologas' Town; just below the Forks

was Bullet's Town; a little further down the Muskingum on the east bank was Tom's Town; on the opposite (west) bank, another short distance down stream, was the previously appointed rendezvous, Wakautamike, or Wakatamake, as the Account has it in Bouquet's speech.

Bouquet decided the location of his "camp 16" to be the most central and convenient place to confer with the Indians and receive the prisoners. It was in the heart of the Indian country, "for the principal Indian towns now lay around them, distant from seven to twenty miles." Four redoubts were built opposite to the four angles of the camp; the ground in front was cleared, a store house erected and likewise a home to receive the restored captives, quarters for the officers and soldiers, also a council house, consisting of a canopy of branches, sustained by upright trunks of young trees, a structure, "in keeping with the savage assembly for whose reception it was designed." Thus a military station sprang up in the midst of the forest wilderness in the Ohio Interior, "which, with the white tents scattered up and down the banks of the river, made a large settlement in the wilderness and filled the Indians with alarm. A town with nearly two thousand inhabitants, well supplied with horses, cattle and sheep, and ample means of defense, was well calculated to awaken the gloomiest anticipations. The steady sound of the axe, day after day, the lowing of the cattle and all the sounds of civilization echoing along the banks of the Tuscarawas within the very heart of their territory was more alarming than the resistless march of a victorious army, and anxious to get rid of such unwelcome com-

panions, they made every effort to collect the prisoners scattered among the various tribes."

This scene was on the present site of Coshocton. It was the center of a widespread circle of military activity and bustle of backwoods life. The tribesmen no longer hesitated. Caughnawagas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares, Senecas, and members of other nations, came from their towns, from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. A score of chiefs with their respective retinues, were present in their tawdry attire and solemn demeanor. Many and lengthy were the speeches of tribal orators. It was surely an exhibition of highly colored moving pictures. One incident illustrating the autocratic power exerted by Bouquet in the Account deserves notice. Netawatwees, chief of the Delaware Turtle tribe—keeper of the treaties and wampum belts—chose for some reason not to appear at the council. Bouquet assuming the autocratic power of a conqueror over his subdued subjects at once deposed him and called upon the members of his tribe to select and present another chief for his (Bouquet's) approbation. This they did a few days afterwards. And then the author of the Account remarks, "smile not, reader at this transaction; for though it may not be attended with so many splendid and flattering circumstances to a commander, as the deposing of an East Indian Nabob or chief, yet to penetrate into the wilderness where those stern West Indian chieftains hold their sway, and to frown upon them from their throne; though but composed of the unhewn log, will be found to require both resolution and firmness, and their submitting to it shows to what degree of humiliation they were reduced."

Band after band brought in the white captives, who had become prisoners in the wars of the previous years. The Account says the number of these prisoners delivered, amounted to two hundred and six, nearly equally divided as Virginians and Pennsylvanians. Some eighty were men, the rest women and children. All conditions of servitude or relationship to their captors were represented; many of the women had become wives to their Indian captors; the children had been adopted into Indian families; and many curious and pathetic instances are related not only of the joy of reunited husbands and wives and parents and children, but also of heartrending sorrow expressed by the white women on being compelled to part from warrior companions, and by warrior savages at yielding up their white partners. Says the Account, describing the scene of arrival of the prisoners in the camp:

“Here were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once-lost babes; husbands hanging round the necks of their newly-recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long separation, scarce able to speak the same language, or, for some time, to be sure that they were children of the same parents! In all these interviews, joy and rapture inexpressible were seen, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others;—flying from place to place in eager enquiries after relatives not found! trembling to receive an answer to their questions! distracted with doubts, hopes and fears, on obtaining no account of those they sought for! or stiffened into living monuments of horror and woe, on learning of their unhappy fate!”

THE REVEREND  
 Mr. James M. Smith, D.D.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971).

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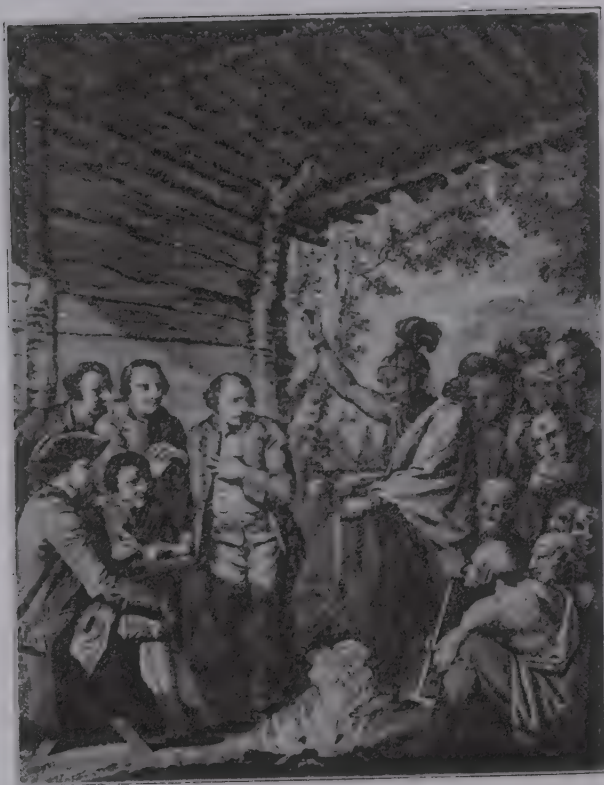
• *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1991; 266: 1033-1036

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... ( ) ...





This reception of the prisoners by Bouquet and their meeting with former friends and relatives, from whom they had been separated, presumably forever, is one of the intensely dramatic scenes in Ohio Indian annals, "a scene to which the Poet or Painter might have repaired to enrich their highest colorings of the variety of human passions, the Philosopher to find complete subject for his most serious reflections; and the Man to exercise all the tender and sympathetic feelings of the soul."

After the Indians had complied with all the conditions exacted by Bouquet, the unyielding commander relaxed his sternness and in a council held with the chiefs diplomatically courted their friendly alliance and received from them assurances that they would not only relinquish all undelivered prisoners but that they would meet Sir William Johnson in council in the spring to make a treaty of peace.

The Account continues: "Everything now being settled with the Indians, the army decamped on Sunday 18th November, and marched for Fort Pitt, where it arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were immediately sent to garrison the different posts on the communication, and the provincial troops, with the captives, to their several provinces. Here ended this expedition, in which it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending it, the troops were never in want of any necessaries; continuing perfectly healthy during the whole campaign; in which no life was lost, except the man mentioned to have been killed at Muskingum."

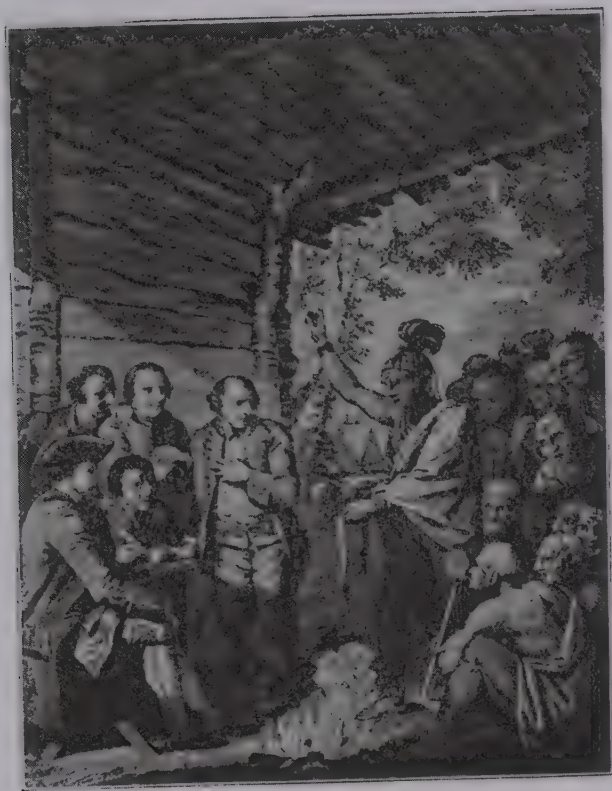
### BOUQUET'S INDIAN CONFERENCE

Conference between Bouquet and the Indians on the banks of the Muskingum at his 12th encampment. This is a reproduction of the original engraving as it appeared in Smith's publication (1763) of the account of the expedition. The original drawing was by the first American painter, Benjamin West.

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The Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Virginia House of Burgesses both passed resolutions thanking and honoring Henry Bouquet for the important and successful service he had rendered the provinces. And his Majesty King George, on receiving the news of the colonel's achievement, rewarded his merit by promoting him to be a brigadier-general.

The recital of the story of Bouquet's expedition would be incomplete if an after incident, the direct result of the expedition was not related. During the conferences in Bouquet's camp, the Shawnees present, promised in behalf of the rest of their nation, "who were gone to a great distance to hunt, and could not have notice to attend the treaty, that they should certainly come to Fort Pitt in the Spring and bring the remainder of the prisoners with them." To insure the fulfillment of this promise Bouquet retained the Shawnee hostages. But these, during the return of the army to Fort Pitt, managed to escape. On May 9th (1765), however, ten Shawnee chiefs, with fifty of their warriors, attended by many of their women and children and accompanied by a "large body of Delawares, Senecas, Sandusky and Munsey Indians," appeared at Fort Pitt, where they met George Croghan, then and for many years previous deputy Indian agent to Sir William Johnson, and who had just returned from England, where he had laid before the Lords of Trade the Indian situation in the colonies.

The Shawnees in accordance with their agreement brought with them and delivered the remainder of their prisoners. They further "gave every assurance of their intention to preserve the peace inviolably

forever," and Lawaughqua, their chief speaker addressed the English as "fathers; for so we will call you henceforth," and now says the Account, "we have the pleasure once more to behold the temple of Janus shut, in this western world!"

Certainly the fierce and bloody Shawnees seemed to be within the shadow of the decline and fall of their tribal power. But their pride was unbroken and their hostility untamed. It was in the winter of 1764-5 that a Shawnee orator Charlat Kaské arrived from the Ohio country at New Orleans and delivered to M. d'Abbadie, Governor of Louisiana, the following pathetic speech: "I come from a great distance; the Master of Life has vouchsafed my coming here and my heart is pleased with beholding you. Though I have no retinue, I am no less a man of influence of the Chauanon (Shawnee) nation, deputed by the Grand Chief to visit and to talk with you, \* \* \* When I came here formerly, then all the world appeared gay and happy; now everything is sad. Our warriors, our redmen, our women and children are sad at not seeing the French army any more among us. The English are coming there [Ohio country] and saying that the land is theirs, and that it is the French who have sold it to them. You know well that our fathers [French] have always told us that the land was ours, that we were free on it, that the French did come to settle there only for our protection and defense, as our good father protects and defends his children."

Just one week after the Shawnee delegates appeared at Fort Pitt to restore the remainder of their prisoners to the colonial authorities, George Croghan, under



instructions from General Gage and advices from Sir William Johnson, set out on a diplomatic journey, by way of the Ohio, to the tribes of the Illinois and the Wabash, "to soften their antipathy to the English, and to distribute presents among the tribes by way of propitiation." The Ohio interior tribes, as we have seen, had been suppressed by Bouquet's bloodless campaign. But the tribes beyond the Miamis were still restless and hostile, and Pontiac, subdued but unconquered, tireless and treacherous as ever, was sending ambassadors west, even beyond the Mississippi, and south, even to New Orleans, to arouse his fellow-savages and if possible to secure renewed aid from the French in the western and southern forts.

Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, a young officer of education and intelligence, who spoke French and knew the Indian character, habits and some of the tribal tongues, was detailed to precede Croghan to the western stations and pave the way for the coming embassy. The journey and experiences of Fraser constitute a story well worth the telling could space be spared for the purpose. Attended by three or four companions, Fraser, in a birch canoe, floated a thousand miles down the Ohio to the country of the Illinois. Here he found the Indians in a hostile humor. His life was in great danger. More than once his savage hosts determined to put him to death with all the horrible Indian accompaniments, but each time Pontiac personally interfered and Fraser escaped unhurt. In disguise he succeeded in descending the Mississippi to New Orleans. Meanwhile Croghan's embassy was en route.

Croghan's party consisted of deputies of the Senecas, Shawnees and Delawares, some fourteen Indians and a few whites. It was an expedition adventurous and romantic in the extreme, minutely reported by Croghan in his daily journal. A version of this journal, regarded as the official version, was sent by Sir William Johnson to the London Lords of Trade and published later in the New York Colonial Documents. Variants of the original, as written by Croghan, appeared in other publications. Our present authority is the combined version, edited by Thwaites in his "Early Western Travels." This journal is one of the most lengthy of Croghan's diaries. Our summary must of necessity be brief.

Starting in bateaux, as Croghan calls the canoes, from Fort Pitt, on May 15, 1765, the embassy paddled with the current down the Ohio, encamping at night on the banks of either side as convenience or safety suggested. The journal is replete with copious descriptions of the land and streams passed, of the game, scenery and Indian villages. Passing the mouth of Little Beaver Creek and of Yellow Creek, the party touched at Mingo Town on Mingo Bottom, present Mingo Junction, where the Senecas had a village on a high bank, north side of the Ohio River. The chief of the village offered Croghan his services to go with him to the Illinois, which offer, says Croghan, "I could not refuse for fear of giving him offense, although I had a sufficient number of deputies with me already." Five days out "we proceeded down to the mouth of the Hockocken or Bottle River," so called because Hockhocken, or Hockhocking, is the local Indian name

for a bottle-shaped gourd, to which they likened the course of this river. "From here," writes Croghan, "I despatched an Indian to the French traders from the Illinois residing there, amongst the Shawanese requesting them to come and join me at the mouth of Scioto, in order to proceed with me to their own country and take the oath of allegiance to his Brittanic Majesty, as they were now become his subjects and had no right to trade there without license."

Three days later the mouth of the Scioto, site of the Shawnee town, was reached and a stop made of four days, during which several of the Shawnees from the Scioto plains arrived bringing with them seven French traders. The Little Miami and the Great Miami were passed, near the mouth of the latter, elephant's bones were found, creating great astonishment among Croghan's party. Just below the mouth of the Ouabache, or Wabash, two Indians were despatched, with letters, to Lieutenant Fraser who had arrived at Fort Chartres, a post still in the hands of the French under commandant Monsieur St. Ange de Bellerive.

While awaiting results, Croghan's party was attacked by a force of Indians, consisting of "eighty warriors of the Kickapoos and Musquattimes," who killed five of the party and wounded Croghan, "and all the rest of my party, except two white men and one Indian; then made myself and all the white men prisoners, plundering us of everything we had," says the journal. The attacking savages then set off, in a great hurry with their prisoners to the Indian village Ouiatanon, (now Lafayette, Indiana). It was a strenuous tramp

through the thicket and forest covered country, swamps and morasses, rich, stream-watered bottoms and woodlands, plentiful with deer, bear and buffalo. The captors made all haste to attain a place of security for their prisoners. After seven days journey, at the rapid rate of thirty miles a day, they reached Post Vincent, later known as Vincennes, on the Wabash. It was a French settlement, which had until the year before (1764) been in command of Louis St. Ange. The eighty or ninety French families of this post, Croghan reported, "are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegadoes from Canada and are much worse than Indians," who were bad enough. Both the French and the Kickapoo Indians plundered the Croghan party. But close by Fort Vincent was a village of the Pyankeshaws, among whom Croghan found many of his former friends. They gave him welcome, rebuked the Kickapoos for the part they had played in capturing and maltreating the English embassy. The attitude of the escorting Indians changed from hostility to that of protection and the Croghan party was conducted with friendly treatment, two hundred miles more up the Wabash to Ouiatanon, another French stockade post, in the midst of Indian settlement. Here writes Croghan, "I had several conferences with the Wawionons, Pyankeshaws, Kickapoos, and Mesquatomies, in which conferences I was lucky enough to reconcile those nations to his Majesty's interests and obtain their consent and approbation to take possession of any posts in their country which the French formerly possessed and an offer of their services should any

### BOUQUET RECEIVING THE CAPTIVES

Bouquet at his 16th camp at the Forks of the Muskingum receiving the white captives from the Indians. A reproduction of the engraving accompanying the account of the expedition published in 1765. The original picture was drawn by Benjamin West.

BOUQUET RECEIVING THE CAPTIVES

BOUQUET at his 14th camp at the Forks of the Muskingum, receiving the white captives from the Indians. A portrait of the original painting in 1765. The original picture was drawn by Benjamin West.

On the seventh day of their journey, at the rate of thirty miles a day, they reached the village known as Vincennes, on the Wabash. This was a French settlement, which had until the year 1763 been in command of Louis St. Ange. The French, many French families of the province, called, "are an idle, lazy people, a nation of parasites for Canada and are much worse than the Indians, they are too bad enough. Both the English and the French had plundered the Croghan and his friends. At Vincennes was a village of the Wyandots, among whom Croghan found many of his former friends. The Croghan welcome, related that Kien was for the first time played in England and made a great deal of money. The attack of the Croghan Indians, and from the day to the day of protection and a small party was sent with friendly intentions to a hundred miles from the Wabash to Ohio. Another French stock post, in the midst of the settlement. There was Croghan, "I had received reinforcements with the Wyandots, Wyandots, Kiamias, and Musquas, in which conferences I was lucky enough to bring all those nations to his Majesty's interests and obtained their consent and approbation to take possession of posts in their country which the French formerly possessed and the offer of their services should be







nation oppose our taking possession of it, all which they confirmed by four large pipes."

After two weeks of negotiations with the tribes named and many others, Croghan, still suffering from his wounds, now no longer a prisoner, but rather a liberated and honored ambassador, accompanied by Francois Masonville, a French Indian interpreter, set out for Fort Chartres, an old French trading post, built in 1720, on the Ohio River below Kaskaskia. They had advanced only a few miles into the forest when the English embassy met with Pontiac, together with the deputies of the Six Nations, Delawares, and Shawnees, and a singular conference ensued in the wild forest. After some friendly parleyings, both parties retired to Ouiatanon, where a more lengthy exchange of views ensued. Pontiac was in a yielding disposition, blamed his continued enmity to the English upon the instigation of the French, who had grossly deceived him. He now knew the French were conquered but persisted that the French had no right to the land, occupied by the Indians, and therefore could not transfer it to the English. The great Ottawa chief, however, would not resist the English in their occupation of the French forts, but would receive their new Father, the English, with open arms. This peaceful acquiescence of Pontiac and his retinue of Illinois chiefs, made it unnecessary for Croghan to further pursue his mission into the Illinois interior.

Followed by Pontiac and many of the principal chiefs, Croghan turned his course eastward, crossed over to Fort Miami, at the headwaters of the Maumee, down which he descended, stopping at Indian villages

to hold conferences and propitiate the natives, for this was the home country of Pontiac, and here the conspirator had formerly rallied many adherents. By the middle of August, Croghan reached Detroit. Here a great gathering of Indians assembled, at his summons, to treat with him. It was a motley assembly of many tribes. Numerous conferences were held, speeches innumerable were delivered, wampum belts were presented to accentuate the points of the orations; the council hall was hazy with the curling smoke from the peace calumets. Pontiac made a characteristic plea for his people, reciting the wrongs done his race and especially emphasizing the damage done the tribesmen by the liquor furnished them by the whites, expressing his hope that hereafter it be kept from them; he closes this speech, so tempered with temperance, however, by saying, addressing the English, "Father, you stopped up the rum barrel when we came here, 'till the business of this meeting was over, as it is now finished, we request you may open the barrel that your children may drink and be merry."

Many weeks these interminable conferences continued. Chief after chief had his say, and tribe after tribe acknowledged its submission. Croghan's mission had been crowned with signal success, and obtaining from Pontiac a promise that in the spring he would repair to Oswego and as representative of the western allied tribes, conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the Indian superintendent Sir William Johnson, Croghan returned to Niagara, which, after a birch canoe voyage of three hundred miles from Detroit,

he reached on October 8th. He had been gone nearly five months, had traveled about two thousand miles, penetrating the far western interior.

That the efforts of Croghan's peaceful mission might not be ephemeral and soon forgotten, General Gage followed up the return of the intrepid ambassador by sending down the Ohio to Fort Chartres, Captain Sterling with a company of one hundred Highlanders of the 42d Regiment. The French commander, St. Ange, yielded his post, the citadel of the French in the Illinois country. That act was the sealing sign of the English supremacy of the lower Ohio Valley. Pontiac's cause was irretrievably lost, and the spring of 1766 found the haughty but defeated chief at Oswego, according to his previous pledge to Croghan. Accompanied by his accustomed escort of chiefs and tribesmen to give dignity to his appearance and emphasis to his errand, Pontiac and party pushed their birchen flotilla across lakes Erie and Ontario. "Soon their goal was reached, and the cannon boomed hollow salutation from the batteries of Oswego." The conquered chief had arrived to acknowledge once and for all his submission and obedience to the pale face conquerors. He was received by Sir William Johnson, attended by the chief sachems of the Iroquois. It was a scene of savage splendor, the Indian chiefs were attired in all the gorgeousness of their ceremonial garments, while their scores of followers were in robes as variegated as the rainbow. The council chamber could not hold the assembly; it convened under an improvised canopy of green boughs on a bright July day. The scene is described by Stone in his *Life of Johnson*: "Indeed

the appearance of that council upon that summer's morning was exceedingly picturesque. At one end of the leafy canopy the manly form of the superintendent, wrapped in his scarlet blanket bordered with gold lace, and surrounded by the glittering uniforms of the British officers, was seen with hand extended in welcome to the great Ottawa, who, standing erect in conscious power, his rich plumes waving over the circle of his warriors, accepted the proffered hand, with an air in which defiance and respect were singularly blended. Around, stretched at length upon the grass lay the proud chiefs of the Six Nations, gazing with curious eye upon the man who had come hundreds of miles to smoke the calumet with their beloved superintendent."

The usual tedious program was enacted, of speeches, smoke, presents, palaver and potations. Pontiac spoke long and pathetically; "Father, when our great father of France was in the country I held him fast by the hand. Now that he is gone, I take you, my English father, by the hand, in the name of all the nations, and promise to keep this covenant as long as I live." Sir William Johnson spoke for the English father. The memorable meeting came to an end; like a dissolving view upon the screen, the picturesque pageant passed into history, the chiefs scattered to their distant homes, and Pontiac shorn of all power, save the hollow leadership of his people, his canoe laden with the gifts from his enemy, steered homeward for the Maumee and his warrior oarsman "keeping time with their paddles to a wild and strange melody, were soon lost to sight on the waste of waters."

Upon the banks of the river that witnessed his birth Pontiac spent the winter of 1766-7, pitching his lodge in the forest with his wives and children and pursuing the chase like an ordinary member of his tribe. From now until the tragic end, the Ottawa chieftain is well nigh lost to view; long he toiled and ranged the woods in vain, a potentate despoiled of power. Through the years 1767-8, Pontiac was a virtual outcast in the wilderness of the west. More and more he gave way to his fondness for liquor until the demon of rum, let loose among his people by the pale face, became his master. In the spring of 1769, the hopeless chief appeared at the Post of St. Louis, on the Mississippi, then in command of St. Ange de Bellerive, a friend of Pontiac, who had offered his services to the Spaniards after the cession of Louisiana by the French to the English. At the Post of St. Louis, Pontiac remained a welcome visitor, when hearing one day that a number of Indians had gathered across the river on the Illinois side for the purpose of a drinking bout, he hastened to join in the festivity. The account is that the savage chief before entering his canoe, that was to carry him across to Cahokia, arrayed himself in the full uniform of a French officer, an apparel presented to him towards the close of the French and Indian war, by none other than the Marquis de Montcalm, who greatly admired the savage chief. In this costume Pontiac was too generously entertained by Creoles and Indians of the French village, then an English post. Having imbibed without restraint, when the carousal was over, Pontiac started with unsteady steps into the adjacent forest. He was stealthily followed by a Kaskaskia tribesman,

who had been bribed to commit the crime by the promise of a barrel of liquor, by an English trader named Williamson. The hired assassin tracked the footsteps of the Ottawa chief, and in an opportune moment glided behind him and buried a tomahawk in his brain. Thus ignominiously fell in the wooded wilds, he had so often trod, to arouse his faithful followers, "a chieftain by far the most powerful that ever trod the forest glades, and one, also, whose beck could at pleasure summon legions of painted warriors upon the war path or send them cowering to their wigwams." On the discovery of the dead body, at the instigation of St. Ange, it was borne to St. Louis, near the fort of which it was buried with military honors. But neither mound nor tablet marked the site of his burial, but his blood mounted aloft and cried for vengeance. Nor did it cry in vain. Whole tribes, friendly to the fallen leader, sprang forth to redress the foul assassination. The Sacs and Foxes assembled in great numbers and made relentless war upon the Kaskaskias, the Peorias and the Cahokias, all of whom were charged with complicity in the "damnable taking off" of the murdered warrior. The three guilty tribes were practically exterminated. Their villages were burned, their people killed or scattered to distant places of refuge, "those who survived the carnage remaining forever after sunk in utter insignificance; for over the grave of Pontiac more blood was poured in atonement, than flowed from the veins of the slaughtered heroes on the corpse of Patroclus."

Many theories have been advanced as to the motive leading to the killing of Pontiac, the more plausible



of which is that the jealousy of the Indians was aroused by the belief that Pontiac was to receive or did receive a pension of ten shillings a day from the British authorities. This theory is sustained by a letter from Norman McLeod to William Johnson, written in August, 1766, in which Mr. McLeod states the Indians believed Pontiac has thus been bribed to cease hostile efforts against the English. The part of Williamson in this affair seems more or less inexplicable. Did he represent the English enmity to and fear of Pontiac? Or was it merely the trader's greed to secure unrestricted access to the tribesmen?

The character of Pontiac has been the theme of much curious mixture of commendation and condemnation. A sample is the comment of Bancroft who alludes to him as "the king and lord of all the Northwest,—a Catawba prisoner, as is said, adopted into the clan of the Ottawas and elected their chief; respected and in a manner adored, by all the nations around him; a man of integrity and humanity according to the morals of the wilderness, dauntless and fertile in resources."

Pontiac was never a Catawba prisoner. He was dauntless and resourceful and had streaks of integrity, displayed however from mere motives of policy, such as redeeming his promissory notes, but these streaks only emphasized his standard duplicity and treachery. As for honesty, even according to his racial instincts, he had none. The vices and brutalities of his people were unusually pronounced in his nature and habits. He was sensual and cruel in the extreme. He had unsurpassed talents for dominating leadership, diplomacy, oratory, organization and un-

yielding perserverance. If we except Tecumseh, whom we shall deal with later on, Pontiac was the greatest hero of his race. He left several children, some of whom continued to live for many years on the banks of the Maumee. One son, Shegenaba, later figured prominently in the Ohio events during the American Revolution.



CHAPTER XIX.

OHIO SETTLEMENT SCHEMES



THE quiescence of Pontiac and the submission of the Ohio Indians in the years 1764 and 1765 gave opportunity to the English to secure possession of the Ohio country, as we have seen, as far as the Mississippi. This stretch of country was an unbroken wilderness, almost exclusively the abode of the redmen. In spite of the Quebec Act the traders and settlers, from the eastern colonies, were crossing the Ohio, seeking traffic and prospecting for future homes. The Indians no less than the British authorities were anxious to restrict the colonists to their prescribed limitations. It was for good reason therefore that the promise made by the Ohio Indians to Bouquet that they would meet Sir William Johnson at the German Flats, was faithfully fulfilled.

It was in the early spring of 1766, some weeks before Pontiac and his party visited Oswego, that representatives of the western tribes presented themselves at the German Flats, on the Mohawk. At this time a treaty was entered into by which a tract of land within the Indian territory east of the Ohio, was ceded to the English for the benefit of traders who had been damaged during the recent war. George Croghan was one of the beneficiaries of this treaty, receiving a grant of some thirteen hundred acres of land on the Allegheny River. At this same council the Indians proposed that a definite boundary be fixed along the Allegheny River, west of which the white men should not be permitted to settle. But Sir William Johnson, after learning the views of the Indians, pleaded that he had no authority to make such a treaty as to boundaries and the matter was left for a later agreement.

In the following May (1767) in response to runners sent out by Sir Johnson, delegates from the different castles of the Six Nations appeared at the German Flats. The Indians present numbered nearly eight hundred. The alleged purpose of this conference was to secure the acquiescence of the Iroquois tribes to the adjustment between Maryland and Pennsylvania of the dispute concerning the boundary claims of those provinces. In this the consent of the Indians was obtained by the argument of ample presents from the governors of the respective provinces interested.

But permission from the Six Nations to let the provincial surveyors run their boundary lines as might be agreed, was not the only matter contemplated in this meeting. To this time a hostile feeling had prevailed between the Six Nations and their hereditary enemies the Cherokee tribes of the south. It had long been the desire of Governor Fauquier of Virginia, which province lay between the warring tribes, that a reconciliation be effected, and the Governor had for a long time been in conference with John Stuart, the English superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern district, concerning an amicable adjustment with the Cherokees. The subject of this proposed peace was laid before the Iroquois chiefs at this council. They finally promised, in the name of the Iroquois Confederacy, that they would meet, at a later date, a deputation of the Cherokees at Johnson Hall and come to some agreement. Accordingly in December of this year (1767) three Cherokee chieftains—Little Carpenter, Great Warrior, and Raven King—accompanied by six warriors and an interpreter, arrived

at Johnson Hall, to remain as guests of Sir Johnson until the council could be convened. In the following February (1768) the representatives of the Six Nations arrived and according to Stone, the "meeting terminated in a joint treaty between the Six Nations, their allies, and the Cherokee deputies."

This Cherokee-Iroquois reconciliation was the immediate forerunner of the famous Treaty of Stanwix. This Congress was convened at Fort Stanwix, present site of the city of Rome (N. Y.), in September (1768). It was directed by Sir Johnson, aided by his three assistant deputies, Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus and George Croghan, accompanied by Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, Governor John Penn of Pennsylvania, the Virginia Commissioners, including Thomas Walker and Messrs. Wharton and Trent, who appeared in behalf of the traders who had suffered in Pontiac's war and who sought redress. Andrew Montour was one of the interpreters. The Indians summoned to this council tardily straggled in from the various nations until finally thirty-two hundred of the tribesmen swarmed about the fort. For nearly two months Sir William Johnson fed and hospitably entertained this immense concourse of savages, conducting their deliberations, making speeches in their own languages, humoring and repressing their wayward dispositions, and bringing them reluctantly to accept his terms. Chiefs of each of the Six Nations were present with their official retainers and also chiefs of the Mingoes, Shawnees and Delawares from Ohio; one of the latter was the famous Killbuck, from the Muskingum.

The Congress was opened with very imposing ceremonies. The Proceedings are reported in great length and detail in the New York Colonial Documents. Sir William Johnson explained the purpose of the gathering. It was the establishment of a boundary line between the territories of the tribes and the colonists. After days of debate, speeches, gift presentations and tedious sessions, the deliberations were ended and Sir Johnson, the royal governors and the commissioners having assembled in full council, the Indians, through their speaker, reported on the line which they had fixed upon as the boundary. It was essentially the same as they had proposed in the previous council at the German Flats. Beginning at the mouth of the Tennessee River, then known as the Cherokee River, it followed the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers to Kittaning; thence in a direct line to the nearest fork of the west branch of the Susquehanna; and thence following that stream through the Alleghanies, it passed, by way of Burnett's Hills, and east branch of the Susquehanna and Delaware, into New York, to the confluence of Canada and Wood Creeks; all territory south of that line was ceded to the British.

The Lords of Trade wanted the line extended no further west than the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where it would meet the line recently established with the Cherokees as the western boundary of Virginia. The Six Nations, however, claimed the country south of the Ohio as theirs by right of conquest, as far as the Tennessee River, and positively refused to agree upon any boundary, whatever, unless this claim of theirs was recognized.

A deed in accordance with the transfer agreed upon was made to the King of England and signed by the representatives of the Six Nations. The deputies of the Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes, from the Ohio country, who were present at the council, did not sign the deed nor the treaty, but the chiefs of the Six Nations claimed to represent them in the transaction. Sir William Johnson, having finally accepted the boundary as proposed, the sum of ten thousand dollars in goods and money was paid to the Six Nations, as consideration for the territory of Kentucky, western Virginia, and portions of Pennsylvania, thus ceded to the English. North and west of this line—into the Ohio country—the colonists were not to intrude.

Shortly after the council, Fort Stanwix was dismantled, by order of the commander-in-chief, and adds Stone, "Its desolation stood as fitting emblem of that people, who within its walls had so recently bartered away its birthright." The Fort Stanwix Treaty gave a great impetus to land speculation especially of various land companies for taking up and settling the territory covered by the treaty. Many new land companies sprang into existence and old ones took on revived activity.

We have already made note of the inception of the Ohio Company in 1748, mainly formed in the interests of Virginia, whose traders hoped by the facilities of water carriage between the Potomac and eastern branches of the Ohio to attain an advantage over the Pennsylvanians, as observed by Justin Winsor. This Ohio Company, at the head of which was Thomas Lee and the Washington brothers, Lawrence and Augustine,

received, as we have seen, a conditional royal grant of half a million acres, within the bounds of the Virginia colony, on both sides of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha. Two hundred thousand acres of this great area were to be located at once, to be held for ten years free of quit rent, provided the company would put there one hundred families, within seven years, and build a fort sufficient to protect the settlement.

The initial contest between France and England, the cause of which was the formation of this Ohio Company and the prospecting tour of its agents through Ohio, and the subsequent French and Indian war, prevented the carrying out of the Ohio Company plans and excepting futile efforts following the late war, just mentioned, the company awaited a favorable time for action. That time seemed to have arrived after the Stanwix Treaty, but other projects intervened.

Before we follow the Ohio Company to its end, one other company which bears upon our history, must be briefly considered. In 1763, only a few months before the promulgation of the Quebec Act, prohibiting settlements in the Ohio country, a company was formed for settlements therein. This organization was known as The Mississippi Company, and the original articles setting forth its purpose, are preserved in the Congressional Library at the National Capital, and are in the handwriting of George Washington, who was the leading spirit in the formation of this company. To the articles in question, Washington's name is signed with those of his associates, including Augustine Washington and four members of the Lee family, Francis Lightfoot



Lee, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas L. Lee and William Lee, in all nineteen names. This company was to "explore and settle some tracts of land upon the Mississippi and its waters." The company was to "consist of fifty members and no more, who are to contribute equally towards the expense of sending an agent to England to obtain from the Crown a grant of lands" to the amount of fifty thousand acres a share or two million, five hundred thousand acres in all. The articles set forth with much detail and particularity the rights of the share-holders and the methods to be pursued in the operation of the company.

An agent was sent to London to secure a grant of western lands, as proposed, but the Quebec proclamation blocked further proceedings, and the Mississippi scheme proved to be a "bubble." Washington however, clung tenaciously to the plan. With his farsighted sagacity, he realized that the time would come sooner or later when the Ohio country would be the promised land of new settlers. In 1767 he wrote William Crawford, his old time friend and land agent, "I can never look upon that (1763 proclamation) in any other light (but I this say between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. \* \* \* Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure working and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it." This was written, be it remembered, the year before the Stanwix Treaty.

In the autumn of 1764 Benjamin Franklin who for fourteen successive years, had been chosen a member

of the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly, was defeated for reelection because of his position in favor of a change in the proprietary form of government for the province. But the members of the new Assembly appointed him a special agent to proceed to the court of Great Britain and there take charge of the interests and general affairs of the colony. Although this was the second trans-Atlantic errand of Franklin in behalf of the colonies, the first having been some ten years earlier, the later mission was the commencement of his remarkable diplomatic career. Within a few years after his arrival in London, he was made similar foreign agent for the colonies respectively of Georgia, New Jersey and Massachusetts.

Among the various schemes formed for land exploitation and western settlement in the period between the French and Indian War and the American Revolution the one known as the Walpole Company or Walpole Grant was the most conspicuous and historic. It was projected in 1766, one of its chief protagonists being Sir William Johnson, with whom were associated William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey and son of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Samuel Wharton, John Sargent, George Croghan, and others prominent in colonial affairs and influential in England. Among the latter was Thomas Walpole, a leading London banker who was placed at the head of the company thus giving it the title Walpole Company. Dr. Benjamin Franklin, then in England, was interested in the company and acted as its representative before the Lords of Trade, and the King's Privy Council. The

formation of the company and its history are fully set forth in the writings and letters of Franklin as edited by Jared Sparks. The promoters desired to buy from the Indians a tract of land west of the Alleghanies, and south of the Ohio and north of North Carolina—a tract to include some two million four hundred thousand acres. This was two years previous to the Fort Stanwix Treaty. That treaty changed the situation and conditions of operation, for after that treaty the company must deal with the crown authority, which had come into possession of the land desired. The company was to consist of seventy-two shareholders. It was to establish a new colony or province to be called Vandalia, with a form of government like that of Massachusetts Bay Colony. The prospective capital was to be located at the mouth of the Great Kanawha and Sir William Johnson was to be the governor.

Dr. Franklin proved, as might be expected, an able and persistent lobbyist for the company before the London authorities but vigorous opposition was encountered. Colonel George Mercer, agent for the Ohio Company of 1748, was likewise in London urging the claims of that company, whose desired territory was largely covered by the proposed Walpole Grant. Again the bounty lands promised the Virginia officers and soldiers by that province for their services in the French and Indian War would be swallowed in this Walpole Grant. Washington, personally interested in the Ohio Company and the distribution of the Virginia bounty, a distribution in which he was entitled to receive a large portion, was opposed to the Walpole Grant and

maintained its success would give a fatal blow to the interests of Virginia. More potent than all, the Crown Ministry objected to the project because it was the studied policy of the Board of Trade to prevent western migrations and restrict the settlers to the eastern seaboard, so that they would be within easy control of the royal authorities and continue beneficial to the commerce of England.

But the Walpole Company persisted and Dr. Franklin most vigorously championed the company's claims, and wrote and published an exhaustive pamphlet "The Advantages of a Settlement upon the Ohio in North America," regarded as one of the ablest documents emanating from that author's prolific pen. The promoters of the company proposed to give for the territory desired, nearly all of what is now Kentucky between the Great Kanawha and the Scioto, as much in money as the Crown had given for the entire territory purchased of the Iroquois at the Fort Stanwix Treaty. The Walpole Grant would be a good bargain for England. The opposition to the Grant was simplified when—in 1770—the Ohio Company was merged into the Walpole Company, stock in the first company being accepted for shares in the second. This disposed of the Ohio Company.

An agreement was also made by the Walpole Company with the officials of the Virginia Colony whereby the land bounty claims of the Virginia veterans were to be protected. Thus after several years of strenuous effort the Walpolers seemed to have secured the right of way and in 1772, their petition was granted by the

Board of Trade and sanctioned by the King. But before the company could enter upon the realization of its plans the political troubles preliminary to the American Revolution put an end to further proceedings in the Walpole and other western land schemes.

Speaking of the events in the period just covered, George Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," has this to say: "No one had more vividly discerned the capacity of the Mississippi Valley, not only to sustain commonwealths, but to connect them with the world of commerce, than Franklin; and when the ministers would have rejected the Fort Stanwix Treaty, which conveyed from the Six Nations an inchoate title to an immense territory southwest of the Ohio, his influence secured its ratification, by organizing a powerful company to plant a province in that part of the country which lay between the Alleghanies and a line drawn from the Cumberland Gap to the mouth of the Scioto. Virginia resisted the proposed limitation of her jurisdiction, as fatal to her interests, entreating an extension of her borders westward to the Tennessee River. It would be tedious to rehearse the plans of the colony; the hesitations of Hillsborough; the solitations of Botetourt; the adverse representations of the Board of Trade; the meetings of agents with the beloved men of the Cherokees. On the seventeenth of October [1770] two days after the death of Botetourt, a treaty, conforming to the decision of the British Cabinet, was made at Lochaber (South Carolina), confining the Ancient Dominion on the northwest to the mouth of the Kanawha, while on the south it extended only to within six miles of the Holston River.

When in the following year the line was run by Donelson for Virginia, the Cherokee chief consented that it should cross from the Holston to the Louisa, or Kentucky River, and follow it to the Ohio. But the change was disapproved in England; so that the West, little encumbered by valid titles, was reserved for the self-directed emigrant."

But during the years that Washington, Johnson, Franklin and others were projecting great western land companies, home seekers were crossing the mountains and dotting the forests with clearings for settlements. This the Ohio Indians viewed with an uneasy and jealous eye, and "did not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right, if people settled thereon, notwithstanding the cessions by the Six Nations."

Of these early settlers on the lower Ohio, one of the most remarkable and romantic was Daniel Boone, the "prince of pioneers," some of whose most thrilling adventures occurred in Ohio. This intrepid hero of frontier life and Indian warfare was the son of good old Quaker parents, who first lived in the Schuylkill Valley of Pennsylvania, where Daniel, with numerous brothers and sisters, was reared amid most primitive surroundings. Indians were his boyhood companions. He was early schooled in all the arts and hardships of backwoods experience. He was "an ardent lover of the wild woods and their inhabitants, which he knew as did Audubon and Thoreau." He was a "dead shot," a fearless rider, knew the forests as the sailor knows the seas, and had nerves that never quailed and muscles supple and tough as steel. Few



MARY ANN WARD

The portrait of an actress and writer, appearing in the  
magazine of the same name in 1911. The portrait is  
reproduced by permission of the artist from the  
book "The actress and the artist" 1911.











of the western frontiersmen ever possessed the hardihood, strength, patience, perseverance and love of solitude that marked his character. His powers of endurance almost surpass belief.

When Daniel was in his eighteenth year the family moved to a claim on the north fork of the Yadkin. It was the year 1751. Here Daniel continued, for four years, his training in the school of nature, when the adventurous boy, with other North Carolina companions, became a Provincial recruit in Braddock's army. Boone was the wagoner and blacksmith of his company, and says Thwaites, "his was one of those heavily laden baggage-wagons which, history tells us, greatly impeded the progress of the English and contributed not a little to the terrible disaster which overtook the column in the ravine of Turtle Creek, only a few miles from Pittsburg." From that disaster Boone had a hair-breadth escape, but he possessed more lives than the proverbial feline.

To Boone's home on the Yadkin came many rumors of the rich soil, game-filled forests and El Dorado opportunities in the untrodden Kentucky wilderness. It was in the winter of 1768-9, just after the Fort Stanwix Treaty, that one John Finley, a fur-trader and Indian fighter, one who, as early as 1752, had navigated the Ohio as far as the Falls and had later tramped the Kentucky fastnesses for many a year, came to the Boone cabin on the Yadkin, to see Daniel whose comrade he had been in Braddock's ill-fated army on the Monongahela and for whom he had ever had a fraternal feeling. Finley's glowing description of the Kentucky land aroused the ardor and envy of Daniel and with

Finley and two other kindred fortune-seekers—one being John Stuart, brother-in-law of Boone—the journey was made across the mountains, along the streams and through the trackless forests until the party reached the waters of Red River, a tributary of the Kentucky River.

Here for nearly two years the hunters penetrated the forests, scaled the mountains, paddled the streams, fished and hunted, prospected locations for settlement, and endured hardships and perilous adventures in endless variety. Twice they were made captives by Shawnee Indians from across the Ohio River and twice they narrowly escaped with their lives. John Stuart never returned from this journey, being killed by the Indians, but Boone found his way back to his family on the Yadkin and in 1773 sold his Carolina holdings and with his wife and children and many companions took that long journey to his home newly chosen in the far west. He was the typical hero of the ever advancing vanguard of civilization, pushing on to the unbroken wilds as the settlements followed in his wake. With the quality of dauntless daring he was kind-hearted, humane, devoid of malice and possessed the most unflinching adherence to honesty and fair dealing. He died at the ripe age of eighty-six:

"In action faithful and honor clear,  
Who broke no promise, served no private end,  
Who gained no title and who lost no friend."

Volumes have been written recounting the life and unprecedented adventures of Daniel Boone. His fame spread to other lands and his simple, rugged character,

and the forest life led by himself and companions brought forth a tribute in the rolling rhymes of Lord George Gordon Byron:

Of the great names which in our faces stare,  
The General Boone, back-woodsman of Kentucky,  
Was the happiest amongst our mortals anywhere;  
For killing nothing but a bear or buck, he  
Enjoy's the lonely, vigorous, harmless days  
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.

Crime came not near him—she is not the child  
Of solitude; Health shrank not from him—for  
Her home is in the rarely trodden wild,  
Where if men seek her not, and death be more  
Their choice than life, forgive them, as beguiled  
By habit to what their own hearts abhor—  
In cities caged. The present case in point I  
Cite is, that Boone lived hunting up to ninety;

And what's still stranger, left behind a name  
For which men vainly decimate the throng,  
Not only famous, but of that *good* fame  
Without which glory's but a tavern song—  
Simple, serene, the antipodes of shame,  
Which hate nor envy e'er could tinge with wrong;  
An active hermit, even in age the child  
Of Nature, or the Man of Ross run wild.

'Tis true he shrank from men even of his nation,  
When they built up into his darling trees,—  
He moved some hundred miles off, for a station  
Where there were fewer houses and more ease;  
The inconvenience of civilization

Is, that you neither can be pleased nor please;  
But where he met the individual man,  
He showed himself as kind as mortal can.

He was not all alone; around him grew  
A sylvan tribe of children of the chase,  
Whose young, unawaken'd world was ever new,  
Nor sword nor sorrow yet had left a trace  
On her unwrinkled brow, nor could you view  
A frown on Nature's or on human face;  
The free-born forest found and kept them free,  
And fresh as is a torrent or a tree.

And tall, and strong, and swift of foot were they,  
Beyond the dwarfing city's pale abortions,  
Because their thoughts had never been the prey  
Of care or gain; the green woods were their portions;  
No sinking spirits told them they grew grey,  
No fashion made them apes of her distortions;  
Simple they were, not savage; and their rifles,  
Though very true, were not yet used for trifles.  
Motion was in their days, rest in their slumbers,  
And cheerfulness the handmaid of their toil;  
Nor yet too many nor too few their numbers;  
Corruption could not make their hearts her soil;  
The lust which stings, the splendour which encumbers;  
With the free foresters divide no spoil;  
Serene, not sullen, were the solitudes  
Of this unsighing people of the woods.

CHAPTER XX.

WASHINGTON'S OHIO JOURNEY





THE many-sidedness of Washington presents an unending field of study in his character and career. His varied accomplishments, in each of which he was *facile princeps*, again and again quicken our interest in and increase our admiration for the foremost figure in American annals. So glorious was he in the martial events of the War of Independence, and so wise and potent was he in the arena of our national awakening, that we are apt to think of him merely as a soldier and a statesman. He was far more. He was eminent as a "man of affairs." He was not a college bred man, but he was trained in the "school of life" and in its broad curriculum he came in contact with many phases of effort calculated to peculiarly prepare him for the work of his manhood. The qualities later displayed in the arena of soldiery and statesmanship were discovered and developed in his early experiences in the frontier wilderness. Washington was a graduate of the forest. His first tutors in the art of warfare were the tribesmen of the backwoods of the Ohio Valley. The school of his diplomacy was his unique service, while yet a lad, in the romantic and picturesque plays made by England and France for racial supremacy in the northwest. The *loci* of these ambassadorial contests were chiefly on the banks of the Ohio. Thus Washington's introduction to events military and political was on the advance line of western civilization.

Undoubtedly Washington received much of the breadth of his views and the keenness of his vision from his life amid the rugged mountains, the ample plains and the sweeping rivers of the primeval west.

He was preëminently an expansionist. As a boy he looked down from the heights of the Alleghany range and beheld the kingdom of the Ohio Valley and the glories thereof. Long before the Revolution and years after he looked to possibilities of the vast domain bounded by the Great Lakes, "the beautiful river" and the "Father of Waters." He planned for its development and assiduously strove to create the channels which should connect the commerce of the East with the products of the West. It was the prospective future of the Ohio Valley that made Washington a surveyor, an engineer, a promoter of western real estate and one of the largest landholders of his day. The events that unite Washington with the Ohio country were as romantic as they were resultful.

The Washington Brothers were among the foremost to promote the original "Ohio Movement." We have already seen how Lawrence and Augustine Washington, with Thomas Lee, Thomas Cresap, George Fairfax and others, "all of his Majesty's colony of Virginia," organized the Ohio Company in 1748. These enterprising gentlemen petitioned the King, "that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to encourage their undertaking by giving instructions to the governor of Virginia to grant them and such others as they shall admit as their associates a tract of five hundred thousand acres of land betwext Romanettes and Buffalo's Creek on the south side of the River Aligane (Allegheny), otherwise the Ohio, and betwext the two creeks and the Yellow Creek on the north side of the River or in such other parts of the west of said mountains as shall be adjudged more proper by the petitioners for that purpose, etc."

This land lay, in modern geography, in the Ohio Valley between the Monongahela and the Kanawha River. The land might be chosen on either side of the Ohio. A portion of the land the company proposed to secure, was in the present Jefferson and Columbiana counties of Ohio, and Brooks County of West Virginia. It was this Ohio Company and the prospecting tour of its agent, Gist, that was a factor, indeed the main one, to precipitate the French and Indian War, the contest of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races for the fair prize of the Ohio country, the empire of the West.

In the spring of 1748, the year this Ohio Company was projected, George Washington, then a lad of sixteen entered upon his career as a backwoods surveyor of lands embraced in the vast estate of Lord Thomas Fairfax, cousin of William Fairfax, the father-in-law of Lawrence Washington, then resident at Mt. Vernon. George Washington had already been made a surveyor of the county of Culpeper and had received a surveyor's commission from William and Mary College. Through the melting snows and along or across the swollen streams, in the season mentioned above, Washington, George Fairfax, son of William Fairfax, James Genn, a professional surveyor, a pack-horse and servitors, wended their way through Ashby's Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, into the broad and panoramic valley through which runs the river called by the Indians, Shenandoah, meaning in their tongue, "the daughter of the Stars."

The party entered the broad Valley of Virginia, where it is bounded by the Blue Ridge range on one side and the North Mountains, a stretch of the Alle-

ghanies, on the other. What a magnificent scene met the enchanted gaze of the impressionable and appreciative youthful surveyor! It was Washington's introduction to the splendors of nature, and his initiation to life in the wilderness. This experience is set forth in his diary, which at that early day he began to keep, a practice he continued without interruption till his death. This first of his journals has been published "*verbatim et literatim*," and it may be added "*spellatim et punctuatim*," revealing the fact that George was a better surveyor than speller. This interesting little volume, edited by J. M. Toner, lies before us as we write. The diary, though largely a monotonous record of his surveys, is enlivened by flashes of youthful sentiment—even poetry—and bespeaks also the persistency and earnestness that always characterized him.

The youthful diarist entered with keen enjoyment and ready adaptation into all phases of outdoor activity for there it was that like Jacques in the forest of Arden, one

"Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

On this surveying trip, he learned the arts and practices of backwoods life, he came in contact with the Indians and their domestic habits and methods of warfare. He was schooled in courage, self-command, perseverance and endurance. It was a primitive, rough and tumble existence that—in the shadows of the Shenandoah forest—but it was a priceless preparatory school for the future hero of Valley Forge and Yorktown. In an early date in his journal he makes a memorandum indicating that he was engaged to survey certain lands

for the Ohio Company, but there is no later word that he really did this. The employment by Lord Fairfax monopolized his services. But it was this surveying commission of nearly two years' duration, with its educating features, plus the influence of his own family and the Fairfaxes, that caused Governor Dinwiddie to first appoint the youthful Washington one of the four adjutant generals of the Virginia militia, with the rank of major, and subsequently to select him as the diplomat who should proceed upon the delicate and daring mission of meeting the French embassy at Venango on the banks of the Allegheny, to confer concerning the conflicting rights of France and England to the Ohio country. The embassy on that errand we have described. The French and Indian War ensued. Washington's part therein ended with the taking of Fort Duquesne by the expedition of Forbes. From the smoking ruins of that fort, Washington hastened to yield to the smouldering flames of love. He was married to Mrs. Martha Custis, a youthful widow, "rich, fair and debonnaire," and for many years thereafter he quietly followed the pursuits of peace in his happy Mount Vernon home, cultivating his ample acres while keenly watching the fates as they spun the threads that wove the tangled web of war—a war that should exalt him to the heights of earthly fame.

No one so clearly perceived, as did Washington, the folly of England's policy in the Quebec Act. He knew the west, its limitless and invaluable resources, and the necessity of uniting it by commercial intercourse with the New England and southern settlements. In the year of his retirement from the army (1759),

Washington was chosen a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and he brought privately to the members of the assembly a plan for improving the Potomac and connecting it with the Monongahela by means of a canal, thus opening a waterway from the Ohio to the tide-water of the Atlantic. Besides interesting himself in a public way in the unfolding of the West and in the construction of means of outlet for its untold wealth, Washington devoted his efforts to the personal acquisition of western lands. In 1760 a reorganization of the Ohio Company was unsuccessfully essayed—unsuccessful because of conflicting claims of parties seeking western lands. In 1763 we found him the chief promoter of what he named the “Mississippi Land Company.” About this same time was inaugurated the scheme called the “Walpole Grant,” which Washington regarded as inimical to his interests and to those of Virginia, and which therefore met his adverse efforts.

The Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768) put an end to the land companies then lobbying at London for grants of land by the Crown. And now Washington turns his attention to the bounty claims of the French War veterans and enters into negotiations with Governor Botetourt and later with the latter's successor Lord Dunmore. In 1754, when Governor Dinwiddie instigated the expedition for the seizure of the Forks of the Ohio, the prelude to the approaching French War, he offered—as has been noted—as an inducement to volunteers, bounty lands beyond the mountains. Washington, as chief officer of that campaign, became entitled to the largest allotment of such land claims



and in addition he purchased other claims assigned to officers and soldiers under him.

Years before this, however, there had entered into life association with Washington, in his land projects, one who became his friend and companion and who was to remain close in his confidence and favor until that relationship should be terminated by his tragic and historic death, on the banks of the Tymochtee, in the heart of the Sandusky Valley. This was none other than William Crawford, whose acquaintance Washington made while employed in the survey of the lands of Lord Fairfax in 1748-9. A firm companionship between these two was the natural logic of events. At the outset they had much in common. Crawford was born the same year as Washington (1732) in what was then Orange County, Virginia—now Berkeley County, West Virginia. The youths were of the same mold in stature and form, and possessed of similar temperaments. Crawford was above six feet in height, and in points of strength and activity a very athlete. While surveying in the vicinity of the Crawford homestead, which became for a while the headquarters of the surveying party, George and William met and the friendship, praiseworthy on both sides, was the result. Crawford at once joined Washington in the surveying enterprise and acquired the art, which he thereafter followed, as a vocation along with farming, until war commanded his services. In 1755 he accepted a commission as ensign and with Washington fought under Braddock in the latter's disastrous engagement. His bravery brought him a lieutenancy and for three years he was engaged, on the Pennsylvania and Virginia

frontiers, in garrison duty, leading scouting parties and engaging in Indian warfare.

In the Forbes expedition against Fort Duquesne, Crawford, through the aid of Washington, became captain of a company of hardy frontier men. After the termination of that campaign, Crawford continued in the service of Virginia until the close of the French War, when he sought his old home in the Virginia Valley, and resumed the double occupation of farmer and surveyor. In 1765 he moved to a location on the Youghiogeny River, some forty miles from the Ohio Forks, and in what was then an unbroken forest he built a cabin and began trading with the Indians and surveying lands for speculators and settlers. In due time a cleared farm of near four hundred acres surrounded his home which became known far and near for the generous hospitality dispensed by its owner. In this freely-frequented log cabin, remote from the refinements of civilization, Crawford was not forgotten by Washington, nor did they neglect to write each other, as is amply attested by the interesting and rare little volume entitled, "The Washington-Crawford Letters," edited by C. W. Butterfield and from which authority we derive much that we now indite. The first letter in the historic correspondence as published is dated Mt. Vernon, September 21, 1767. Washington alludes to a previous letter, "my last letter," wherein "I then desired the favor of you (as I understood rights might now be had for the lands, which have fallen within the Pennsylvania line), to look me out a tract of about fifteen hundred, two thousand, or more acres somewhere in your neighborhood, meaning



only by this, that it may be as contiguous to your own settlement, as such a body of good land can be found. It will be easy for you to conceive, that ordinary or even middling lands would never answer my purpose or expectation, so far from navigation, and under such a load of expense, as these lands are encumbered with. No; a tract to please me must be rich, of which no person can be a better judge than yourself, and, if possible, level. Could such a piece of land be found, you would do me a singular favor in falling upon some method of securing it immediately from the attempts of others, as nothing is more certain, than that the lands cannot remain long ungranted, when once it is known, that rights are to be had."

"I offered in my last to join you, in attempting to secure some of the most valuable lands in the King's part, which I think may be accomplished after a while, notwithstanding the proclamation [Quebec Act], that restrains it at present, and prohibits the settling of them at all; for I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves), than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years, especially when those Indians consent to our occupying the lands. Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it. If you will be at the trouble of seeking out the lands, I will take upon me the part of securing them, as soon as there is a possibility of doing it, and will moreover be at all cost and charges

of surveying and patenting the same. You shall then have such a reasonable proportion of the whole, as we may fix upon at our first meeting; as I shall find it necessary, for the better furthering of the design, to let some of my friends be concerned in the scheme, who must also partake of the advantages.

"I will inquire particularly concerning the Ohio Company, that we may know what to apprehend from them. For my own part, I should have no objection to a grant of land upon the Ohio, a good way below Pittsburg, but would first willingly secure some valuable tract nearer at hand.

"I recommend that you keep this whole matter a secret, or trust it only to those, in whom you can confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land. This advice proceeds from several very good reasons, and, in the first place, because I might be censured for the opinion I have given in respect to the King's proclamation, and then, if the scheme I am now proposing to you were known, it might give the alarm to others, and, by putting them upon a plan of the same nature, before we could lay a proper foundation for success ourselves, set the different interests clashing, and, probably, in the end, overturn the whole. All this may be avoided by a silent management, and then the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game, which you may, I presume, effectually do, at the same time you are in pursuit of land. When this is fully discovered, advise me of it, and if there appears but a possibility of succeeding at any time hence, I will have the lands immediately surveyed, to keep others off, and leave the rest to time and my own assiduity."

This significant letter was answered by Crawford within a week and in this reply he states he can secure land in Pennsylvania, on the Monongahela and on the Youghioghenny. He proposes to immediately set about the work entrusted to him, and writes Washington, "I have hands now engaged to work for me; and when I go out, I shall raise a cabin and clear some land on any I shall like or think will suit you." These letters apparently established the agency of Crawford and Washington, an agency extending through many years.

Many tracts in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania were selected, surveyed and secured for Washington; among them the Great Meadows site, where he had built his memorable Fort Necessity, for he had long desired to possess the scene of his only surrender.

Early in 1770 Washington began contemplating a trip to the western country to view the land upon the Ohio and its tributaries, which, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, had been purchased from the Indians—to the end that he might secure good tracts in that locality for the Virginia officers and soldiers who had served in the French War, and who were entitled in all, distributed according to rank, to two hundred thousand acres.

On this journey to and down the Ohio, Washington kept, according to his custom, an accurate and informing account. The original of this "account" is found in two manuscripts, now preserved in the Library of Congress, one of which is entitled "Remarks & Occurs in October." When November came it is noted only by the words "November 1st." The other manuscript is inscribed "Where & How—my time is—

Spent." The former document is the elaborated journal of his tour and the latter is a mere outline, such as he always kept, of each day's affairs. The more formal journal, damaged to the extent that the entries from the 6th to the 17th of November were regarded as illegible, is published in Sparks' "Writings of Washington," and elsewhere. The smaller diary was reproduced for the first time in the publications of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, together with a reprint of the greater journal, the whole edited by Professor Archer B. Hulbert, who after a careful study of the original has also reproduced the mutilated pages which are found to be legible in large part.

The journal begins October 5 (1770) when Washington sets out from Mount Vernon for Pittsburg with Dr. Craik, three servants and "a lead horse with baggage." They traveled the old Braddock road, passing the Great Meadows and stopping three days at the cabin of William Crawford, who showed Washington some coal mines, and fine tracts of land. Crawford here joined the party which proceeded to Fort Pitt, where they were entertained by Colonel George Croghan and the officers of the garrison. Here Washington was honored by a formal visit from White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations who called to pay their respects to the distinguished Virginian.

On Saturday the 20th (October) "we embarked in a large canoe with sufficient store of Provisions and necessaries, & the following persons (besides Dr. Craik and myself) to-wit—Captn. Crawford, Jos. Nicholson, Robt. Bell, William Harrison, Chas. Morgan and Dan'l

Reardon a boy of Captn. Crawford's & the Indians who were in a canoe by themselves."

Nicholson was the guide and interpreter. Colonel Croghan accompanied them as far as Logstown. The diary then recites the events of each day as they occurred. It may be easily guessed that the journal is fraught with interesting comment and description concerning the condition of the river, distance traveled, the scenery, character of land, fertility of soil, game and productions, habitations of the Indians and disposition of the latter toward the whites. Frequent stops and encampments were made, sometimes on one side of the river, sometimes on the other. Those on the Ohio or northern side especially elicit our attention.

On Monday 22d "We came to Mingo Town [twelve miles below Steubenville] situate on the West side of the River a little above Cross Creeks—This place contains ab[out] Twenty Cabins & 70 inhabitants of the Six Nations"—here they "found and left 60 odd Warriors of the Six Nations going to the Cherokee Country to proceed to war against the Cuttawba's."

They stop at the mouths of French Creek, Fishing Creek, Split Island Creek, Wheeling Creek, Little Grove Creek, Big Grove Creek, Pipe Creek, "so called by the Indians from a stone which is found here out of which they make pipes;" Fox Grape Vine Creek, so called by Nicholson, called by others Captewa Creek; this is Captina Creek on the Ohio side, so famous in later history. Around his camp at Captina Creek and up the creek, he says, "is a body of fine land—on our passage down to this we see innumerable

quantities of Turkeys & many Deer watering, and browsing on the Shore side, some of which we killed." Washington hunting deer and turkey in Ohio!

On the opposite side, in Virginia, ten years later, he owned a tract called Round Bottom, containing about six hundred acres.

We can not make all the landings our party made. Slowly they floated down, zigzagging from one river side to the other, examining the mouth of every stream or river. On the 26th "We came to the mouth of the Muskingum. \* \* \* This river is abt 150 yards wide at its mouth; a gentle current & clear stream runs out of it, & is navigable a great way in to the Country for canoes." Again, "We came to a small Creek on the west side, which the Indians called little Hockhocking." \* \* \* "About eight miles below little Hockhocking we encamped opposite the mouth of the Great Hockhocking, which the so-called is not a large water; tho the Indians say Canoes can go up it 40 or 50 miles"—On Sunday the 28th the Journal relates that "We left out Incampment" and continued inland "to a place where there comes in a small Run [Pond Creek] where we found Kiashuta and his Hunting Party incamped" \* \* \* "Here we were under a necessity of paying our Compliments, As this person was one of the Six Nation Chiefs, & the head of them upon this River—In the Person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance—He being one of the Indians, that went with me to the French in 1753—He expressed a satisfaction in seeing me and treated us with great kindness; giving us a Quarter of very fine Buffalo—He insisted upon our spending that Night with him, and in order



to retard us as little as possible movd his Camp down the River about 6 Miles just below the Mouth of a Creek, the name of which I could not learn (it not being large) at this place we all Incamped—After much Councelling the overnight they all came to my fire the next Morning, with great formality; when Kiashuta rehearsing what had passed between me & the Sachems at Colo Croghan's thankd me for saying that Peace and friendship was the wish of the People of Virginia (with them) & for recommending it to the Traders to deal with them upon a fair & equitable footing; and then again expressed their desire of having a Trade opend with Virginia, & that the Governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but of their friendly disposition towards the white People—This I promised to do."

The terminus of the trip was reached October 31st, at the juncture of the Great Kanawha, where a stay of several days was made, employed in ascending the river and examining the land thereabouts, upon the course and mouth of which Washington located for himself a ten thousand acre tract, which in 1773 he advertised for sale or lease, suggesting among other advantages of its location, "the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio" and the contiguity of these lands "to the seat of government, which, it is more than probable, will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanawha."

On the return trip up the Ohio more attention was given to the Virginia side, Washington keeping a lookout for and even marking certain lands which later might be located for the French War soldiers

holding bounty claims. When the party reached "the point of the Great Bent," in the river, Washington states he sent the canoe with the baggage around by water while he "walked across the neck on foot with Captain Crawford distance according to our walking about 8 miles as we kept a strait course under the Foot of the Hills which ran about So. Et. [southeast] & was, two hours & an half walking of it \* \* \* This is a good Neck of Land the soil being generally good; & in places very rich—their is a large proportion of Meadow Ground, and the Land as high, dry and Level as one could wish—the growth in most places is beach intermixd with Walnut &ca but more expecially with Poplar (of which there are numbers very large)—the Land towards the upper end is black Oak, & very good—upon the whole a valuable Tract might be had here, & I judge the quantity to be about 4000 acres."

This walk was across Letart township, Meigs County, Ohio, on Monday, November 3d. It is on this return trip, November 6th, says Hulbert, that the journal is marred "because of some kind of an accident which happened to the original manuscript; very likely it fell into the muddy flood-tide which its author described." It is this spoiled portion Mr. Hulbert partially deciphers. On the upper side of the "Bent" as Washington calls it, the canoes were reëntered and the river route resumed. Another stop was made at Mingo Bottom and a second visit paid to the camp of Kiashuta, who seems to have shifted his quarters since he first entertained the canoe voyagers. It was Tuesday, November 21st, when Fort Pitt was reached. Washington computes the distance, according to



Hutchins, the mapper and geographer, from Fort Pitt to the Great Kanawha, to be 272 miles. The Journal closes with a page or two of general observations upon the river navigated and the country inspected, of which the following excerpt is a sample:

"When the River is in its Natiral State, large canoes that will carry 5 or 6000 weight & more, may be worked against stream by 4 hands 20 & 25 Miles a day; & down, a good deal more—The Indians who are very dexterous (even there women) in the management of Canoes have there Hunting Camp's & Cabins all along the River for the convenience of transporting their Skins by water to Market—In the Fall, so soon as the Hunting Season comes on, they set out with their Familys for this purpose; & In Hunting will move there Camps from place to place till by the Spring they get 2 or 300 Miles from there Town's; Then Bever catch it in there way up which frequently brings them into the Month of May, when the women are employd in Plantg—the Men at Market & in Idleness, till the Fall again; then they pursue the same course again; during the Summer Months they live a poor & perishing life—

"The Indians who live upon the Ohio (the upper parts of it at least) are composed of Shawnees, Delawares, & some of the Mingos, who getting but little part of the consideration that was given for the Lands Eastward of the Ohio, view the settlement of the People upon this River with an uneasy & Jealous Eye: & do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their right if the People settle thereon, notwithstanding the Cession of the Six Nations thereto."

Such was Washington's journey down the Ohio. It had occupied six weeks, giving the prospector a thorough and practical knowledge of the upper Ohio River and adjacent lands. We shall subsequently see what an important factor the knowledge, thus gained by Washington, became to him personally in a proprietary way and to the western settlers in an historical and political way. Washington was not only the Father of his country; he was in no small measure the Founder of the State of Ohio.

Ohio-peh-hi-li! Peek-han-ni! The pride  
Of the land where thy waters, O-pel-e-chen, glide;  
Though thy vales, and the hills in the distance that loom,  
Seen afar through the azure, or lost in the gloom,  
Have long been the homes of the noble and brave,  
Whose proud halls are built on the Indian's grave,  
Yet seldom the poet hath made thee his theme,  
Ohio-peh-hi-li! All beautiful stream.





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